# The Hiſtorie of Quintus Curtius, conteyning the Actes of the great *Alexander*.

## Tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by *Iohn Brende*.




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# To the Right Highe and mighty prince, Iohn Duke of Northumberland, Earle Marshall of *England, &c. Iohn Brende wisheth continuall prosperitie, with encrease of honour.*

MAny haue written, and experience besides declareth, howe necessarye Historicall knowledge is to all kinde of men, but specially to Princes and to others which excell in dignitie or beare authority in any common-weale: the same beeing counted the most excellent kinde of knowledge, the chiefest parte of ciuill prudence, and the mirrour of mans life. There is required in all magistrates both a faith and feare in God, and also an outward pollicie in worldly thinges, whereof as the one is to bee learned by the Scriptures, so the other must chiefely be gathered by reading of Histories. For in them men may see the grounds and beginnings of commonwealths, the causes of their encrease, of their prosperous maintenance, and good preseruation: and againe by what meanes they decreased, decayed, & came to ruine. There the vertues and vices of men doo appeare, how by theyr good dooings they florished, and by their euill

actes they decayed. How they prospered so long, as they mainteined iustice, persecuted vice, vsed clemencie and mercy, were liberall, religious, vertuous, and voyde of couetousnes: And contrariwise how they fell into manifold calamities, miseries, and troubles, when they embraced vice & forsoke vertue. In histories it is apparant, howe daungerous it is to begin alterations in a common welth. How enuie and hatreds oft rising vpon small causes, haue been the destruction of great kingdoms. And the disobeyers of higher powers, and such as rebelled against Magistrates, neuer escaped punishment, nor came to good end. In them there be presidents for all cases that may happen, in following the good, in eschuing the euill, in auoyding inconueniences, & in foreseeing mischieses. In them may bee learned how to temper in prosperitie, how to endure in aduersitie, & after what manner men should vse themselues bothe in time of peace and warre. As in all artes there bee certaine principles and rules for men to folowe, so in histories there be ensamples painted out of all kinde of vertues, wherein both the dignitie of vertue and foulenes of vice, appeareth much more liuely then in any mortall teaching: there being expressed by way of ensample, all that Philosophie doth teach by waye of precepts. This is such a kinde of knowledge, as maketh men apt euen with small experience either to gouerne in publike matters, or in their owne priuate affaires: For by comparing things past, with thinges present, men may easilie gather what is to bee followed, and what is to be eschued. And hee which can reade them with such iudgement, waying the times with the causes and occasions of things, shall both see most deepely in all matters, best declare his opinion,

nion, and winne moſt eſtimation of prudence and wiſedome. For if aged men bee eſteemed for the wiſeſt by reaſon of their experience: Or if HOMER painted forth in the perſon of VLYXES the Image of a perfit wiſe man: imputing the cauſe thereof to the knowledge he had gathered by traueiling many countreys, and by vewing and marking the cuſtomes and manners of diuers nations: Then ſuch as be well expert in hiſtories, and by the well applying of them, can take the due fruite perteining to the ſame: muſt needes obtaine profoundneſſe of iudgement, with a ſtable and grounded wiſedome. For in them men may behold as it were before their eyes, both the whole worlde, and the gouernment thereof, with the pollicies and lawes, the diſcipline, cuſtomes and manners of all people from the beginning.

This is ſuch a thing, that whoſoeuer is cleerely voide of it, though hee be endued with neuer ſo great a witte otherwiſe, with ſuch aptneſſe of nature, or other goodly vertues: Yet when he ſhall haue to doo in weighty affayres, hee ſhall finde a certaine maime and imperfection, not onely in ciuill gouernement, but alſo in the matters perteyning to the warre.

For although in an excellent Capitaine nature muſt giue the chiefeſt partes, that is to ſaye, hardineſſe, ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, with a naturall wiſedome and vnderſtanding (by which qualities onely (experience thereunto adioyned) diuers haue become famous Capitaines.) Yet this is a thing that giueth a greater pollicie, groundeth a deeper iudgement, addeth a further ornament and glorie, and fourmeth a perfectnes and an excellencie in a ſhorter ſpace.

The ſhortneſſe of a mans life ſhortened beſides

by ſo many caſualties, is the cauſe that men be taken away before they can get ſuch an actuall experience as may make them perfect, and commonly become rotten, before they canne attayne to a ripenes in knowledge. But by this kinde of learning in youth a man is becomc aged, hee hath knowledge without experience, he is wiſe before it is looked for, he is become a counſaylour the firſt houre, and a man of warre the firſt day. The ſame thing hath beene verified in many, which in young age haue beene prudent counſellers, and in ſmall experience politique Captaines. Alexander hereof is an euident enſample, who brought vp vnder Ariſtotle in learning, and ſo giuen to this kinde of ſtudy, that he had Homer alwayes layde vnder his beds head (whereby he might bee admoniſhed of the vertues and office of an excellent Prince) entred into his kingdome when hee was but twenty yeeres of age: and neuertheleſſe both eſtabliſhed his owne eſtate with ſuch prudence, that within ſhort ſpace (beſides the enlarging of his owne bounds) he ſubdued the greateſt part of the world. And albeit he began ſo yong, and continued ſo ſmall time: yet no mans actes be comparable to his: being counted the moſt excellent Captaine from the beginning. But if any man wyll impute the greatneſſe of his dooings to the perfect diſcipline the Macedons vſed in the wars, and to the politique Captaines, and expert ſoldiers, left to him by his Father Philip: it ſhall appeare euidently by the decay of realmes when they haue beene gouerned by imprudent princes, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaines receyued when they were conducted by euill Capitaynes, that no prudence of counſellours can take place,

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nor any diſcipline or experience of the ſouldiers can auaile, if the head be not a man of excellent vertue. There is nothing new vnder the Sunne (as the wiſe man ſaith) & it is impoſſible for any thing to chance either in the war or in common pollicy, but that the like may be found to haue chanced in times paſt. All which things laid vp in memory, as in a place of ſtore: men may alwayes be furniſhed for al chances that may occur. Seeing hiſtories be then ſo good and neceſſarie, it were much requiſit for mens inſtruction, that they were tranſlated into ſuch tounges as moſt men might vnderſtand them: & ſpecially the hiſtories of antiquitie, which both for the greatnes of the acts doone in thoſe dayes, & for the excellency of the writers, haue much maieſtie and many enſamples of vertue. I therfore hauing alwayes deſired that we Engliſhmen might be found as forward in that behalfe as other nations, which haue brought all worthy hiſtories into their naturall language, did (a fewe yeeres paſt) attempt the tranſlation of Quintus Curtius, & lately (vpon au occaſion) performed & accompliſhed the ſame. Which Author treating of the acts of the great Alexander, being figured in the Prophets, Ieremy & Daniell, & mencioned in the firſt booke of the Machabies, ſeem to haue bin borne, and brought forth into the world, not without a moſt ſpecial prouidence & predeſtination of God: who proſpered ſo his proceedings that (as Iuſtine writeth) hee neuer encountered with any enemyes whome he ouercame not, hee beſieged no Cittie that he wanne not, nor aſſailed nation that hee ſubdued not. This ſo worthy a matter I thought good to dedicate vnto your grace, following theyr enſample that haue trauelled in the like ſtudye, which are woonte to declare

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their good willes, by beſtowing of their laboures. Therevnto I was alſo mooued the rather, by conſidering the qualities of your grace, which ſeeme to haue certaine affinitie and reſemblance with ſuch as were the very vertues in ALEXANDER. For ARIANVS writeth of him, that he was of a ſeemly ſtature, bold in his enterpriſes, ſtoute of ſtomake, moderate in pleaſures, wiſe in counſaile, and prouident to foreſee thinges, that hee was excellent in conducting of an armie, moſt politique in ordering his battailes, that hee could encourage his Souldiers with apt wordes, and when need required take parte of their perill. What partes of this be in your grace, let them iudge that haue knowne your actes in the warres, and your excellent ſeruice doone, both in the time of the kings Maieſtie that now is, and alſo in his fathers dayes of moſt famous memorie. Although in dooing heereof I haue not peraduenture ſatiſfied all mens expectacions: yet my truſt is, that your Grace will accept the ſame in good part, and conſider that in a tranſlation a man cannot alwayes vſe his owne vaine, but ſhall bee compelled to tread in the Authors ſteps, which is harder, and a more difficult thing to do, then to walke his owne pace.

# The fyrſt Booke of Quintus Curtius, ſupplyed of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.

PHilip of Macedone, which by ſubduing of Greece, did firſt bring his countrie in reputation, was the ſonne of Amyntas: a man endued with wiſedome, hardineſſe, and all other vertues of a noble Capitaine. The ſame Amyntas had by Euridice his wife, three ſonnes: Alexander, Perdicas, & Philip, who was the father of great Alexander: with a daughter alſo called Euxiones. The Queene Euridice being in amours with one that had marryed her daughter, conſpired the death of the king her huſband, to the intent to haue married with her ſonne in lawe, and to make him king: which thing ſhe had brought to effect, had not the treaſon and whoredome of the mother, beene opened by the daughter in time. After the death of Amyntas, Alexander the eldeſt ſonne enioyed his fathers kingdome: which in the beginning of his reigne

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was so assailed on all sides, that he was driuen by force to purchase peace of the Illirians with money, by giuing his brother Philip in hostage. And afterwards by the same pledge, made a like peace with the Thebans, being the occasion that Philip did attaine to such excellencie of knowledge and wisedome. For by reason that he was committed to the custody of Epamynundus, who was a valiant Capitaine and an excellent Philosopher, he was brought vp in the trade of honest disciplines, and princely maners, greatly profiting vnder a Philosopher of Pithagoras schoole, whome Epaminundas kept in his house for the instruction of his sonne. In the meane season Alexander was slaine by the meanes of Euridice his mother, whose former treason king Amintas her husband had pardoned in respect of the children had betweene them, little thinking that shee would afterwards haue beene their destruction. For when Alexander was dead, she caused in like maner her other sonne Perdicas to be slaine: which Perdicas left behind him one sonne being a yoong babe. About the same time Philip the yoongest brother, being by good hap escaped out of prison, returned into Paeeon, and not taking vpon him the name of king, remained a great while no otherwise but as Gouernour or Tutor to his

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young neuew. Neuertheleſſe, afterwards by occaſion of ſundry miſchiefes growing in the ſtate, the ſame beeing ſuch as might not well hang till the yong king ſhould come to his age: for that he appeared to be a man of ſinguler actiuitie, and of no leſſe ſkyll in feates of warre then in knowledge of philoſophie, was compelled by the people to take vpon him to be king of Macedon, which as then ſtood in hard plight, and great daunger of ruine. This was doone 400. yeeres after the building of Rome, and the 105 Olympiade. In the beginning of his reigne he was combred with infinite troubles: for all the countreys neare about (as it were by a generall conſpiracie) mooued warre againſt him, and at one time ſundrye nations ſwarmed together out of ſundry partes to ouercome his kingdome. Wherfore conſidering that it ſtood him vpon to worke warely (not being able to matche them all at once) pacified ſome with faire promiſes, other with money, and the weakeſt he withſtood with force. By that meanes he both made his enemies afraid, and confirmed the hearts of his people, which he found diſcouraged, and ſore amazed. Theſe things he wrought with great ſleight and fineneſſe of witte, in ſuch ſort that he miniſhed not any part of his honour, eſtate or reputation, determining neuertheleſſe as time ſhould ſerue,

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to deale with euery one a parte. His first war was with the Atheniens, whome he ouercame by sleight and pollicie. And where it lay in his power to haue put them all to the swoorde, he set them all at libertie without raunsome. By which point of clemencie (though it was but counterfaite, being doone for feare of a greater warre at hand) yet it gat him great good will and estimation vniuersally. After that he subdued the Peons, and from thence turned his power against the Illirians, of whom he slew many thousands, and wanne the noble Cittie of Larissa. That doone he mooued warre against the Thessalians, not for any desire of their goods, or spoile of their countrey, but of a pollicie to adde to his strength the force of their Horsemen, which at those dayes were counted the chiefest of the world. This his purpose he brought well to passe: for being sodenly assailed, they were soone brought to subiection. So Philip ioyned the force of their horsmen vnto his footmen, whereby he made his power inuincible. After all these things happily brought to passe, he toke to wife Olympias, one of the daughters of Neoptolemus, king of the Molossons. That mariage was concluded by the meanes of Arisba, who had the gouernment of Olympias, by maryng of his other sister called Troada. This marriage

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which he thought to haue made for his suertie, turned afterwards to his subuersion. For thinking to haue made himselfe strong by the affinitie of Philip, he was at length by him depriued of the whole kingdome, and ended his life miserably in exyle. Not long after this marriage, King Philip dreamed that hee sawe his wiues wombe wonderfully swollen, and to his seeming a liuely Image of a Lyon therevpon: by which dreame the Diuiners & dreame readers did enterprete, that his wife was conceiued of a Child, that should be of a Lyons heart & courage: which interpretation pleased him much. Afterwards at the assault of a cittie called Methron, by shotte of an arrow he lost his right eie. Wherof, though the displeasure was great, yet was he content vpon their submissiō to take them to mercy. He wan also the Cittie of Pagus, and annexed the same vnto his kingdome. He inuaded the land of the Triballes, & at one instant conquered it, with all the countries therabout. Thus hauing made his kingdome strong by subduing his neighbours: at his returne home, his Wife Olympias was deliuered of his sonne Alexander the 8. daye of Aprill. Of these good fortunes the king reioyced no lesse then reason was, hauing stablished his countrey at home, subdued his enemies abrode, and gotten an heire to succeed in

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his kingdome. He could haue desired no more of God, if the minde of man could euer be satisfied, which the more it hath the more it coueteth. As dominion encreaseth, so dooth also the desire to haue more: which was well seene in Philip, that still did compasse howe to growe great by taking from his neighbours, and laye alwayes like a spie, awayting time and occasion, how to catche from euery man. Whereunto he had occasion ministred by the Citties of Greece: for whiles one did couet to subdue another, and through ambition were at strife who should be chiefe, by one and one, he brought them all at length to subiection, perswading the smaller states to moue warre against the greater, and to serue his purpose, contriued the wayes to set them all together by the Eares. But at length when his practises were perceiued, diuers Citties fearing his encrease, confedered against him, as their common enemy, but chiefely the Thebans. Neuertheless in necessitie when they were driuen to wage men of war, they chose him to be their generall Capitain against the Laedemonians, and the Phoceans, which had spoiled the Temple of Appollo. This war he honorably atchiued, so that by punishing of their sacrilege, he gat himselfe great honor in al those parts. But in thend espying either of those countreys to be

brought low with the warre, he found meanes to subdue both the one & the other, compelling aswell the ouercomers, as the ouercome, to be his tributaries and subiects. Then made he a voyage into Cappadoce, where killing, and taking prisoners all the Princes thereabouts, reduced the whole Prouince to the subiection of Macedon. He conquered Olynthus, and within a while put his foote in Thrace. For where the two kings of that countrey were at variance about the limits of their kingdomes, and chose him to be their arbitrer, he gladly tooke it vpon him. But at the day appointed for the iudgement, he came not thether like a Iudge with a Counsell, but like a warrier with an armie, and to parte the strife, expulsed both the parties from their kingdomes. By this time yoong Alexander was twelue yeares of age, and began to take great delight in the feates of warre, shewing most manifest signes of a noble heart and princely courage. Hee was very swift of foote, and one day at a solemne game of running called Olympiacum, beeing demaunded by some of his companions if hee would runne a race with them: gladly (quod he) if heere were kings sonnes to runne withall. Another time when certaine Embassadours of the Persians came into Macedon, Alexander which in his Fathers absence

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tooke vpon him their entertainment, and deuising with them of diuers things, in al his communication there neuer passed from him one childish or vaine word, but either enquired the state of their countrey, the maners of the people, the distaunce of the wayes, the power of their king, or the order of his warres, with such other like. So that the Embassadors hauing meruaile thereat, esteemed the proofe of the father to be much lesse, then the towardnes of the son, and that his courage was much more, then was to be looked for in one of his yeares. As often as tidings came that the king his father had woone any strong or rich Towne, or obteined any notable victory: he neuer seemed greatly ioyfull, but would saye to his playfellowes: my father dooth so many great actes, that he will leaue no occasion of anye notable thing for vs to doe together. Such were his words, such was his talke: whereby it was easie to coniecture what a man he would after prooue in age, which so began in youth. His delight was not set in any kinde of pleasure, or gardeins of gaine, but in the onely exercise of vertue, and desire of honor. The more authoritie that he receiued of his father, the lesse he would seeme to beare. And although by the great encrease of his fathers dominion, it seemed that hee should haue the lesse occasion of warres,

warres, yet he did not set his delight in vaine pleasure, or heaping vp of treasure, but sought all the meanes he could, to vse martiall feates, and exercises of warre: coueting such a kingdome, wherein for his vertue and prowesse, he might purchase fame and immortalitie. That hope neuer deceiued Alexander nor any other that hath will or occasion to put the same in vre. The charge and gouernance of this young prince was committed to sundry excellent masters and gouerners, but chiefly to the Philosopher Aristotle, whose vertue learning and knowledge king Philip so much esteemed, that he would often say, he tooke no greater comfort in the birth of his sonne, then in that hee was prouided of such a maister for him as Aristotle, vnder whose tuition he remained ten yeares. Many things there chanced besides, whereby it was coniectured, that Alexander should prooue a man of great valour. For when his father sent to Delphos to receiue answer of the Gods who should be his successour, the Oracle was giuen: that such one should not onely succeed him, but also be Lord of the world, whom Bucephalus would suffer to sit vpon his back. This Bucephalus was a passing faire horse, fierce and ful of courage, which Philip had bought of a Thessalien for thirteene Talents, and because of his

fiercenes, kept him within a brake of Iron bars: yet for all that hee remained so fell and wood, that none durst come neere to dresse him. Whereof the king was so wearye, that hee sought the means to be rid of the horse. It fortuned that Alexander came one day with his father into the stable. What a horse (qd he) is marred here for lacke of good handling, and with that came more neare, and without any great difficultie gate vpon his backe, and vsing both the spurre and the rodde to the vttermost, ranne and managed him so vp and downe, that the horse abide it very well. And hauing ridden his fill, brought back the horse againe. As he alighted, the king for ioy imbraced and kissed him, and with teares in his eyes said: O sonne, seeke for some other kingdome meete for the greatnes of thy hart: for Macedon cannot suffice thee. So that euen then the foreseeing father, did full well perceiue all his possessions far insufficient for his sonnes heart. After this king Philip determined to make warr against all Greece, for the maintenance whereof hee thought it great aduantage, if he might first get vnto Bizancium, a famous city on the sea coast. Wherfore committing the charge and gouernment of his realme to his sonne being then xv. yeeres of age, laide siege to the towne which made him great resistance. When he had con-

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sumed al his riches and treasure about the sieg he was driuen to so narrowe shift, that to furnish himselfe of money, he became a Pyrat, & roued on the sea, where he tooke 170 ships, the spoile wherof he deuided among his souldiers. And least that his whole army should be detei-ned about the siege of one cittie, he sorted out the most chosen bands of all his souldiers, and went into Chersonesus, where he tooke and put to sack many notable townes because his sonne Alexander was then about 18. yeeres olde, and had shewed an euident proofe of his vertue and manhood in all his attempts: his father sent for him thither, to the intent he might in his warres learne and exercise all feates belonging to a souldiour, & with him made a voyage into Scythia vpon none other quarrell, but to spoile the countrey. Thus vsing the practise of marchants, with the gain of one war, he bare out ꝑ charges of an other. After he had brought the countrey in subiection, because no riches of gold nor siluer was to be got there, he brought from thence xx. M. of men, women, & children, besides a great multitude of catel, with xx. M. chose mares to make a race in Macedō. In his returne he was encountred with the Tribals, which denied him passage, except they might haue part of his booty. Wherupon debating of the matter, from words they fell to fighting,

whereat king Philip was so wounded in his thigh, that the violence of the first stroke ranne through the body of his horse, whereof all men iudging him to be slaine, the booty was thereby lost. Assoone as he was recouered of this hurt, his dissembled grudge against the Athenians, brast out so farre foorth, that he made open warre vpon them. By reason whereof the Thebans seeing the fyre so neare at hand, gaue succor to theyr neighbours, fearing least if the Athenians were ouercome, the end of the warres should turne vpon them. Wherefore the cities that a little before were mortall enemies one to another, confedered together in on league, & sent their Embassadours through all Greece, perswading it to be most meet with a common aid, to withstand a common enemy. Some considering the perill to be vniuersall, stucke to the Athenians: and some fearing Philips power encreasing, and the others decreasing, tooke part with him, In this warre Alexander had the charge of one of the battails cõmitted to him, wherein his noble heart and courage did well appeare, specially when it came to the stroke of the fight, for there hee acquited himselfe so valiantly, that he seemed not inferior to his father, nor to any man els, but by most iust desert got the honour of the victorye, yet he was defrauded thereof by the

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enuy and slight of his father, as hee himselfe complained afterwards. This battaile was fought at Cheronу, wherein though the Athenians were the greater number, yet were they ouercome by the Macedons being the fewer, but yet expert Souldiours by reason of their long an continuall practise in warres: neuertheiesse the Athenians as men not vnmindfull of theyr former honour, spent their liues valiantly. That day made an end of all the Grecians glory, aswell of their large rule & gouernment, as of their most auncient freedome and libertie, which beeing hardly woone, and long time kept, was thus lost in a moment. For these things and many other experiments of the valour and prowesse in young Alexander although the king his Father did alwayes beare him singuler affection and fauour: yet neuertheiesse by certaine occasions ensuing, it was vnhappylye broken. For Philip beeing married to Olimpias, mother of Alexander (as is said before) tooke to wife besides her, one Cleopatra, wherevpon fell great discord and vnkindnes betweene the father and the sonne. The occasion was giuen by one Attalus, vncle to Cleopatra, who being at the new marriage, exhorted the multitude to make prayers to the gods to send betweene the king and the new Queen a lawfull

heyre to succeed in the kingdome of Macedon. Whereat Alexander being mooued. Thou naughty villaine (qs he) doest thou count me a bastard: and with that worde flang the cup at his head. The king hearing this, rose vp, and with his swoorde drawne ran at his sonne, who by swarting with his body, auoyded the stroke so that it did o harme. Herevpon Alexander with many stout & dispitefull words, departed from his father, and went with his mother into Epirus. Neuertheles soone after, by the mean of one Demoratus a Corinthian, who perswaded the king that this discord was nothing for his honour, Alexander was sente for againe and much labour and great meanes was made before they could be well reconciled: wherfore to confirme this attonement, there was a mariage made betweene Alexander the brother of Olympiades (whom Philip by the expulsion of Arisba had made king of Epirus) and Cleopatra the new Queenes daughter. The triumphe of the day was notable according to the state & magnificence of such two Princes, the one bestowing his daughter & thother marying a wife. There were set forth sundry notable plaies, & deuises pleasant to behold. And as king Philip (betweeen the two Alexanders the one his naturall sonne, and the other his son in lawe) was passing through the prease without

out any guarde: one Pausanias a yoong man of the nobilitie of Macedon, when no man suspected any such thing, sodainly slew him starke dead, making the day which was appointed to ioye and triumphe, lamentable and dolorous by the death of such a Prince. This Pausanias beeing a boye, one Attalus inforced to the vnlawfull vse of his body, which not content to doo so himselfe, at an other open banquet, caused diuers of his familliars to abuse him likewise: which shame & villany greeued the yong man so sore, that hee complained to the king, whome although the dishonestie of the matter mooued much, yet for the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the respect of his seruice, forbare to vse any reformatiõ in the matter. This Attalus was very neere vnto the king, and in special fauour, by reason he was kinsman vnto the Queene Cleopatra whome Phillp had last married: Hee was also elected generall captaine of the kings armie, prepared to passe into Asia, as one that was both valiant of his person, & no lesse politike in the feats of war. Vpon these respects ỹ king indeuored by al ỹ meanes he could, to pacifie Pausanias (being kindled with most iust cause of griefe) aswell by geuing him great gifts and promotions, as placing him honourably amongst those gentlemen that were for the guarde of his person.

But all this could not appease the iust rage of his yre, which wrought so in him, that he determined to be reuenged, not onely vpon Attalus that did the villany, but also vpon the king that would not minister Iustice. Which determination hee put in effect, as is said before. Many things might be sayd more of the doings and sayings of this Philip, but one thing aboue all others is to be noted, that although for the more parte hee was occupyed in the turmoile of the warres and other like busines: yet had he euer such affection to the studies of humanitie and good learning, that he both did, and spake many things worthy of memory, which were both wittye and pleasant. He lyued seauen and fortie yeeres, and he reigned xxv. yeeres, being the xviii. king of the Macedons, that reigned in order.

(.˙.)

# The second Booke of Quintus Curtius supplyed.

When Philip was dead: his sonne which for the greatnes of his acts, was afterwards called the great Alexander, tooke vpon him the kingdom the 426. yeere after the building of Rome, being of the age of 20. yeares. His state stood at that time subiect to much enuy, hatred and hazard from all parts. For the nations and prouinces bordering vpon him could not wel beare their present bondage, and euery one of them sought howe to recouer againe their auncient dominion & inheritance. The first thing hee attempted after hee was king, was the greeuous execution vpon so many as had conspired his fathers death: which doone he celebrated his funerals with great pompe. Concerning his estate he soone established it, and that much better then any man could haue imagined, in one of so yoong and tender yeeres. For beeing of some had in contempt

tempt, and of ſome other ſuſpected to be cruell: towards the one he bare himſelfe ſo ſtoutly, that hee tooke from them all contempt: and to the other ſo gentilly, that their imagined feare of his cruell diſpoſition was cleane taken away. He graunted vnto the Macedons freedome, and priuiledge, from all exactions and bondage, ſaning from the ſeruice of war: by which act he gat ſo great fauour and loue amongſt his people, that all affirmed by one conſent, howe the perſon of their king was changed and not his vertue, his name was altered, but not his good gouernement. In the beginning of his raygne, rebellion was made againſt him on all ſides, but he by and by with an incredible ſtoutnes and conſtancy of minde ſtayed all their tumults. That matter pacified and ſet in order, he wente to Corinth in Peloponeſe, where calling a generall Counſell of all the ſtates of Greece, was elected their generall Capitaine againſt the Perſians which before time had afflicted Greece with many plagues, & at that preſent poſſeſſed the greateſt Empire in the world. His father had purpoſed the war before, but the preuention of death was the cauſe hee brought not his purpoſe to paſſe: whiles he was in preparation of this enterprize, he was enformed how the Athenians, the Thebans, and Lacedemonians,

were

were reuolted from him, and confederate with the Peesians, & all by means of an Oratour called Demosthenes, which was corrupted by them with a great sum of money. For the reformation whereof, Alexander so suddenly had prepared an army, that when he came vpon them, they could scarsly beleeue he should be present, of whose comming they had not heard before. In his way he practised with the Thessalians, & vsed to them such gentle words and apt perswasions, by putting them in remembrance of his fathers benefits, & of the ancient kindered betweene them by their discent from Hercules: that he brought them to that pointe, by an vniuersall decree of the whole countrey to be created theyr gouernour. So great was the celeritie that this yong man vsed, and his diligence so effectuall in all doings that hee made all such feare him, as before were reuolted, and regarded him little. As the Athenians were the first that failed, so they first of all repented, extolling with praises Alexanders childehood, which before they had despysed, aboue the vertue of the auncient Conquerours. They also sent Embassadours to require of him peace, whom he sore rebuked when they came to his presence, but yet was content at length to remitte theyr offence. And although Demosthenes was

chosen

chosen one of the Embassadours, yet he came not in his sight, but in his waye returned againe to Athens. Which his dooing, was either for feare that he had so oftē railed against Philip, and stirred the Athenians against him: or els to take away the suspition of himselfe from the king of Persie, of whom (it was said) he had receyued a great sum of golde to stand against the Macedons. The same thing was laide against him by Aeschines in an Oration, where he saith: presently the kings golde dooth beare his charges, but that cannot last him long, seeing no riches can suffice his prodigall lyuing. When Alexander had pacified those stirres that were begun in Greece, before hee would passe his army into Asia, he made a iourney against the Peons, the Triballes, and Thillirians, because he vnderstood they were conspyring togethers. And for that they bordered vpon his countrey, and were woonte to inuade the same vpon euery occasion, thought to set stay amongst them, before he would remooue his power so farre of, from the Cittie of Amphipolis therefore he set forwards against the Thracians, which at that time were not vnder the rule or law of any man. In ten dayes he came to the Mount Hemus: in the toppe whereof he found them encamped, with a power to resist his passage. In steede of tren-

trenches, they had empaled themselues with their cariages crosse the streights, purposing there to withstand him. And if they should be inuaded by any other way then by the straights they did determine to roule their carriages downe the hill vpon the Macedons, to breake their araye. That deuice was put in execution, but the souldiours had receiued before instructions by Alexander, as occasion should serue, either to open theyr aray to let the carts and wheeles passe through them, or els to fall flat vpon the ground, and by couering their bodyes with theyr Targets, to auoyde the danger. They vsed the matter according to their instructions, and when the cartes were passed by, they with a courage and crie mounted vp against their enemies, and in a moment put them to flight. When Alexander was passed the mountaine, he entred into the countrey of the Tribals as farre as the riuer of Ligeus. When Syrmus king of that land vnderstood of his comming, he sent his wife and his children with such of his people, as were not meete for the wars, into an Iland called Peuca, situate within the riuer of Danubye, into which Iland, the Thracians bordering with the Tribales were fled also. It was not long after that Syrmus himselfe fled thither in like manner. The rest of the Triballes that were

not with the King withdrawing themselues into an other Ilande, where they kept themselues against Alexander. But he by policy found the meanes to drawe them out of theyr strength, whereby he slew of them the number of three thousand, and the rest fled away, so that of prisoners were few taken.

After this battaile he marched towards the Riuer of Danuby, to the Ilande whether the Thracians and the other Triballes were fled. They made notable resistance against him, which they might the better do, by reason that Alexander wanted boates to passe into the Iland, the bankes whereof were so highe and steepe, that they could not be mounted vpon, but with great difficultie, the riuer besides running so swifte, by reason that the streame was there driuen into a straight. When Alexander perceiued the impossibilitie to assault them, hee withdrew to an other place, where getting a few boates, passed the Riuer in the night, to the number of one thousand fiue hundred horsemen, and foure thousand footmen.

With that company he set vpon a people called Getes, that stood ready in order of battaile, on the further side of the Riuer with foure thousand horsemen, and tenne thousand foote men, of purpose to stoppe the Macedons passage. But by theyr sudden comming ouer, the

the Getes were so afraide, that they did not abide the first onset.

It seemed to them a matter of woonderfull aduenture for Alexander, in one night without a bridge to passe his power ouer the broadest and deepest Riuer in all Europe.

This matter stroke such a feare and terrour in theyr hartes, that they fled into the woods, mountaines, & desert places, leauing theyr citie desolate, which was taken by Alexander.

Syrmnus King of the Triballes with the Germanes, and the other inhabitours vpon the Riuer of Danubye, sent theyr Embassadours thether vnto Alexander, to enter with him into friendshippe and amytye. And hee condiscending and agreeing to theyr requestes, enquired of the Germaines what thing it was in the worlde they doubted moste, thinking in deede that the terrour of hys name had beene the moste fearefullest thing vnto them. But when they vnderstoode hys meaning, they aunswered: that they doubted greatly the falling of the Skye. With whose presumptuous aunswere Alexander was nothing mooued, nor further replyed, sauing onely that hee sayde: the Germaynes were a proude people, and thereupon dismissed them. As hee was going from thence against the Agrians and the Paans,

he

he was aduertised that Clitus Bardelius had rebelled, and was confederate with Glautius the king of the Thaulauntes, he had also intelligence, that the people of Anteria would giue him battaile in his passage. Wherfore he committed to Lagarus king of the Agrians (which was welbeloued of king Philip and no lesse in his fauour) the charge to go against the Anterians, and promised him vpon his returne to giue him his sister Cyna in marriage. And Alexander himselfe with great celerity, went against Clitus and Glaucias, whom in sundy battailes he ouercame & put to flight. Whiles Alexander was about these things, he receiued aduertisement, that diuers Citties in Greece, and specially the Thebans, had rebelled, which thing mooued him much and was the cause that he returned with speede to oppresse that commotion. The Thebans in the meane season besieged the Castle of Thebes, wherein was a guarison of Macedons, and went about by all meanes to winne it. Alexander came by great iourneys to their rescue, and encamped with his hoste neere to the city. Such as bare rule amongst the Thebans when they saw him come, contrary to that they looked for, and doubting whether such ayde should come to them for other citties as was promised, began to consult how to proceede.

At length by a generall consent, they determined to abide the aduenture and extremity of the warre. The King in the mean season stood at a stay, geuing them space to be better aduised and change their purpose, for he was of opinion, that no one citie would euer haue made resistance against so great a power as hee had, being aboue xxx. thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen, all old souldiours, and expert in the trauailes of war. The trust of their mãhod and valiantnes had caused him to vndertake the warre against the Persians. Truly if the Thebans had geuen place to Fortune, and to the time, & would haue required peace, they might easily haue obtained it: his desire was so great to passe into Asia against ỹ Persians. But the Thebanes that were determined to try their force, and not to make any sute, fought against the Macedons, farre exceeding them in number, obstinatlye, and with great manhoode: But whilest the battailes were ioyning, the guarison of the Castle issued out vpon the Thebanes backes, whereby beeing enclosed, they were vanquished, their Citie taken, spoyled, and vtterly rased. Which extremity Alexander vsed of purpose, because he thought the rest of the Grecians (being afraid by their example) would bee the more quiet, while he should be in the warres of Asia. To

gratify the Phocians and Plateans his confederates, which brought many accusations against the Thebans, he slew of them sixe thousand, and sold thirtie thousand as slaues: the money thereof comming, amounteth to the summe of foure hundred and forty Talentes: Yet hee spared all the linnage of *Pindarus* the Poete, whereby hee would witnes vnto the world, the fauour hee did beare vnto learned men. In this Citie of Thebes was a notable woman called *Timoclea*, whom when a Captayne of Thrace did rauishe, and would haue enforced her to confesse her Money: Shee brought him to a Well, where (shee sayde) all her precious geare was hidden. And whilest he stouped downe to looke into the Well, shee thrust him in, and threwe Stones after, whereby hee was slaine. For this facte shee beeing committed to Prison, and afterwards brought before *Alexander:* hee asked her what shee was, shee answered without feare, that shee was sister to *Theogenes*, which beeing elected generall Captaine against King *Philip* his Father, manfully dyed for the libertie of Greece. At whose stoutnes and constancy the King marueiled so much, that hee caused her with her children to be set at libertie. The Athenians had so great pittie and compassion of the estate of the Thebanes, that contrary

to

to the commaundement of *Alexander*, they receaued into their Citie such of them as escaped: which thing *Alexander* tooke in such displeasure, that when they sent Embassadours the second time to demaund peace, hee would not grant attonement vpon any other condicion, but that such Oratours & Captains which had sturred them to rebellion, should bee deliuered vnto his handes. But at length the matter was brought vnto that point that the Oratours were reserued, and the Captaines banished, which straighte fledde to *Darius* King of Perse. At such time as *Alexander* assembled the Grecians in *Isthmos* for the determination of his iourney into *Perse*, many Oratours and Philosophers came to visite him, onely *Diogenes* that remained aboute Corinth, kept himselfe away, as one that esteemed *Alexander* nothing at all, whereat hee maruelled much, and went to visite him where he was beaking of himselfe in the Sun. Hee asked *Diogenes* if hee had neede of anye thing hee might doo. To whom *Diogenes* neither gaue reuerence nor thanks, but willed him to stand out of his Sunne-shine. In whose behauiour and wordes *Alexander* tooke so great delight, that turning to those that were with him, said: if he were not *Alexander*, he should wish to bee *Diogenes*. When hee had put in

oyder the affaires of Greece, committing the rule thereof together with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernment of *Antipater*, whom he most trusted, in the beginning of the spring came to Helespont with his whole Armie, which he transported into Asia, with incredible speed and diligence. When they were come to the further shore, *Alexander* threw a dart to the enemies land, and as he was armed, leaped out of the Ships with great gladnes, and there sacrificed, making petition vnto the gods that they would vouchsafe to admit him King of that land. Frō thence he marched towards his enemies, and forbad his souldiers to make any spoile vpon the countrey, perswading thē to spare that was their owne, and that they should not destroy the thing which they came to possesse. He had not in this armie aboue the number of 32. thousand footmen, and 5. thousand horsemen, and but clxxx. shippes: wherefore it is hard to iudge whether it bee more wonderfull that he conquered the world, or that hee durst attempt the conquest thereof with so small a power. He chose not out to such a dangerous enterprise, the yong men which were in the first flower of their age, but the old souldiers, of whom the most part for their long cōtinuance in warres, were by the custome at liberty and free from the warres, sauing at their

owne

owne pleasure. And there was no Captaine nor any other that bare office in his armie, vnder the age of lx. yeares. So that the souldiers for their experience seemed to bee scholemaisters of the warres, and the Captains for their grauity appeared to be Senators in some ancient common wealth: that was the cause that in the fight none of them minded any flying, but euery one cõceiued the victory in his head, nor any put his trust in his feete, but in his hands. *Alexander* that euery where made sacrifice, did vse most solemnity at Troy vpõ *Achilles* Tombe, of whom he was descended by his mothers side: He iudged him most happy of all men before him, because in such glory he dyed yong, and had his actes set forth of such a one as *Homer* was. From thence hee passed forwards into the dominions of *Darius* King of Perse, which beeing the Sonne of *Arsanus* and the fourteenth King after *Cyrus*, had gotten the possession of the Monarchie, of the whole East part of the world. The chiefest cause that mooued *Alexander* to inuade him, was to be reuenged of the dammages and destructions, wherewith his predecessors had afflicted the countrey of Greece, and also for demaunding tribute of *Philip* his father, for the which he sent a proud and presumptuous Embassade, calling himselfe the King of Kinges,

and kinsman of the gods. Lastly he had writte
to *Alexander*, and called him his seruant, an
gaue commission to his Lieutenants, that they
should beat that mad boy (the Sonne of *Philip*
with roddes, and afterwards bring him to his
presence in Kings apparel. And further more ẏ
they should drowne both ship and mariners, ꝙ
tomay all the Souldiers that should be left a-
liue beyond the red Seas. They therfore pur-
posing to execute the kings commaundement
assembled their power at the riuer of Granike,
which doth deuide ẏ countrey of Troy frō *Pro-*
*pontides*, hauing to ẏ number of xx. M. footmē,
and as many horsemen, with whom they had
taken the ground on the further side of the ri-
uer, where *Alexander* must needes passe ouer.
Whereof when he was aduertised, though he
saw present perill in the enterprise to fight in ẏ
water, and the ouze, from the lower ground a-
gainst his enemies, which had the aduātage of
the higher banke, yet vpon a singuler trust of
his owne good Fortune, and the valiantnes of
his souldiers, attempted the matter. At the
first hee was sore encountred, and put in great
hazard of repulse, but at lenghth he vāquished
and ouerthrew his enemies. In dooing wher-
of, there neither wanted pollicy in himselfe, nor
yet singuler manhood in his men. There was
slaine in that battell of Persians twenty thou-

sand

sand footmen, with two hundred & fifty horsemen, & of the Macedons but xxxiiii. This victory was greatly effectual to *Alexanders* purpose, for thereby he wan the citie of Sard, being the chiefe strength the Persians had for the mastering of the seas, vnto the which Citie and to all the rest of the Countrie of Lydia hee gaue libertie to liue vnder their owne law. Hee got also vnder his possession the citie of Ephesos, by reason that the fourth day after ỹ battel it was abandoned of ỹ guarison which *Darius* set there. In ỹ mean seasō ther came Embassadors from Magnetia & from the Trallians proffering ỹ deliuery of their cities. *Parmennio* was sent to them with 3000. footmē, and 200. horsemen, with which power hee wan Miletum that stood at defence, and marching from thēce towards Helicarnassus, got all the Townes thereaboates at the first approche, & afterwards besieged Helicarnassus it selfe, which with great trauell hee wanne at length, and rased it to the ground. As *Alexander* entred into Caria, *Ada* the Queene of that countrey which had beene spoyled of all her Dominion by *Orontobates Darius* lieutenāt (sauing of one strong citie called Alinda) met with *Alexander*, and adopted him for her Sonne and heire: Hee would not refuse the name and the proffer of her liberality, but did betake to her

gaaine the custodie of her owne Citie. And besides for the memory of her beneuolente put the whole Countrey of Caria vnder her rule & subiection. From thence hee went into Licia and Pamphilia, to the entent that by getting the possession of the Sea coasts of those countries he might cause the sea power of *Darius* to stand to none effect. When he had once subdues ỹ people of Pisidia, he entred into Phrigia, by the which countrey hee was enforced to passe, & marched towards *Darius*, with whom he had great desire to encounter, hearing say that he was comming against him with many thousands of men of warre.

# The third Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, King of Macedon.

ALexander in the meane season hauing sent Cleander to wage menne of warre out of Peloponese, & established the countries of Lycia, and Pãphilia, remoued his army to the Citie of Celenas. Through this Citie there ran at the same time the Riuer of Martia, very famous in the Greeke posies: whose head springing out of the top of an high mountaine, and falling down vpon a rocke beneath, made much noise and roaring. It floweth from thence, and watreth the fields all about, without increase of any Streame sauing his owne. The colour whereof being like vnto the calme Sea, gaue occasion to the poets to faine how the Nimphes for the delight they tooke in that riuer chose their dwelling vnder that rock. So long

long as it rũneth within compas of the walles it kepeth his own name, but when it commeth without where the streame is moze swift and vehement, it is then called Lycum: *Alexãder* did enter into this towne, beeing forsaken of ꝑ inhabitants and perceiuing they were fled into the castle which hee determined to win before he departed, first sent to sũmon thẽ by an Herauld which declared that excepte they would yeeld themselues, they should suffer the extremity of the lawe of armes. They brought the Herauld into an high tower which was strong both by nature and workmanship, willing him to consider the thing, & to declare vnto *Alexander* that hewated not sufficiently ꝑ strength of the place, for they said they did know it to be impregnable: and if the worst should fall, yet were they readie to die in their truth and allegiance. Notwithstanding which words, when it came to the point, that they saw themselues besieged, & all things were scarse, they tooke truce for lx. daies with this composition, that if they were not rescued by *Darius* within that time, they would render it vp into his handes: which they did afterwards at the day appointed, when they saw no succours comming. To that place there came Embassadours to him from Athẽs, making request that such of their Citie as were taken prisoners at the battaile,

fought

fought vpon the riuer of Granike, might be reſtoꝛed to them. To whom anſwere was made, that when ẏ wars of Perſe were once bꝛought to end, both theirs & all other ẏ weꝛe Greeks, ſhould be reſtoꝛed to their libertie. *Alexander* had his pꝛeſent care and imagination alwaies vpon *Darius*, whom he knew not yet to be paſſed the riuer of *Euphrates*. He aſſembled theꝛfoꝛe all his power togethers, puꝛpoſing to aduenture the hazard of the battaile. The countrey was called Phꝛigia ẏ hee paſſed thꝛough plentifull of villages, but ſcarce of Cities, yet there was one of great antiquity called Goꝛdium, the ꝛoyall ſeat ſometime of King *Midas*. The riuer Sangarius doth run thꝛough, it, and it ſtandeth in midway between the ſeas of Ponte & Cilicia: being iudged to be the naꝛoweſt part of Aſia, by ꝛeaſon of ẏ ſeas which ly on both ſides, ꝛepꝛeſenting the fourme of an Iland. And if it were not foꝛ a ſmal point land ẏ doth lie betwixt thoſe ſeas, they ſhould ioyne both togethers. *Alexander* hauing bꝛought this city vnder his obeiſãs, entred into ẏ tẽple of Iupiter wheꝛ he ſaw ẏ wagon wheꝛin *Midas* the builder of ẏ city was wont to ride. The ſame in ẏ furniture & outward apearance diffeꝛed litle fꝛom other common Wagons, but theꝛe was in it a thing notable, which was a ꝛope folded and knit with many knots, one ſo

wꝛetched

wrethed within another, that no mã could perceiue the manner of it, neither where the knots began, nor where they ended. Hereuppon the countrey men had a prophely, that hee ſhould be Lord of all Aſia, that could vndoo the endles knot. That was a matter which put the King in maruellous deſire to become the fulfiller of the prophely. There ſtood a great number about him both of Phrigians & Macedons, the one part of them muſing to what concluſiõ this matter would come too, and the other fearing the raſh preſumption of their king, for as much as they could perceiue by no reaſõ how ỹ knot ſhould be vndon. The king himſelfe alſo doubting that the failing of his purpoſe in that matter might be taken as a token of his euill Fortune to come: After he had cõſidered the thing: What matter maketh it (qd. hee) which way it be vndone, and ſtryued no longer how to vnknit it, but out of hand cut with his ſword the cordes a ſunder, thereby either illuding, or elſe fulfilling the effect of the prophecie. When this was done *Alexander* purpoſed to find out *Darius* whereſoeuer he were, to ỹ intent he would leaue all things cleare behind his backe, made *Amphitorus* captaine of his nauy vpõ the coaſt of Hellеſponte, committing the charge of the men of warre to *Egilocus*. They two had commiſſion to deliuer the Ilands of Lesbos, Scio,

and

and Coos, from the handes of the Persians. And for the furniture of their charges, appointed to them fiftie talents. And sent to *Antipater* and such other as had the gouernãce of the cities of Grecce, lx. talẽts. He gaue order that such as were his cõfederats, should with their owne power of ships defend the seas of Hellespont according to the league betwixt them. It was not yet come to his knowledge how *Mẽnon* was dead, vpon whom he set his whole regard, knowing if ỹ he moued not against him, no mã should be his stop before he came to *Daryus*. *Alexander* came to the Citie of Ancire where he made his musters, and so he entred into Paphlagonia, wherunto the Grecians be borderes, of whom it is said the Venetians be descẽded. All this countrey yeelded vnto him, and gaue him pledges, obteined to bee free of tribute, seeing they neuer paid any to the Persians. *Calas* was Captaine there, who taking with him the bands of souldiers that were lately come out of Macedon, went vnto Cappadocia. But *Darius* hearing of the death of *Memnon*, was no lesse mooued therewith then the case required, for then all other hope set a part, he determines to try the matter in person. For he condempned all thinges that had been done by his debuties, hauing opinion that good gouernment wanted in many of them, and that

For-

Fortune had failed in them all: He came therfore to Babilon, where he encamped, aſſembling all force togethers in ſight, becauſe hee would ſhew the greater courage. And vſing the enſample of *Xerxes*, in taking of his muſters, entrenched ſo much ground about, as was able to receiue ten thouſand men, within the which hee lodged in the Night ſuch as had beene muſtered in the day, & from thence they were beſtowed abroad in the plaine countrey of Meſopotamia. The number of his horſemē and footmen were innumerable, & yet ſeemed to the ſight to be more then they were. There were of the Perſians an hundred thouſand, of whom thirtie thouſand were horſemen. Of the Medians ten thouſand horſemen, and thirty thouſand footmen. Of the Barcanytes two thouſand horſemen, with broad ſwords & light bucklers, and ten thouſand footmen with lyke weapons. There were of the Armenians forty thouſand footmē, and ſeuen thouſand horſmen. The Hircanians of great eſtimation amongſt thoſe nations had fiue thouſand horſemen. The Deruicens were fortie thouſand footmen armed with pikes, whereof part had no heads of Iron, but dryed the points of them in the fire. There were alſo of the ſame nation two thouſand Horſemen. There came from the Caſpian ſea eight thouſand footmen

and

and two hundred horsmen, and with them of ꝑ rude nations of Asia two thousand footmen, & 4. thousand horsmen. To the increase of these numbers there were thirtye thousand mercenary souldiers that were Grecks. Hast would not suffer to call for the Bactrians, Sogdians and Indians, with other the inhabiters of the red Sea. Nations which had names scarcely knowen to their owne King. Thus *Darius* wanting nothing lesse then the multitude of Men, greatly reioyced to behold them. And puffed vp with the vanity, and flattery of the great Men which were about him, turned to *Charidemus* of Athens, an expert Manne of Warre (whiche for the displeasure that *Alexander* did beare him, was banished the Countrey) and asked him if hee thought not that company sufficient to ouerthrow the Macedones. Whereunto *Charidemus* without respecte of the Kinges pride, or of his owne Estate, aunswered: peraduenture Sir (quoth hee) ye wil not bee content to heare the truth, and except I tel it presently, it shall be too late hereafter. This great preparation and huge armie of yours, gathered of the multitude of so many Nations, raised vp from all parts of the Orient, is more fearefull to the inhabiters here aboutes, then terrible to your Enemies. Your Men shine in coloures and glister in Armour

mour of Golde: exceeding ſo much in riches, that they which haue not ſeen them with their eies, cannot conceiue anye ſuch thing in their mindes. But contrariwiſe the Macedons beeing rough Souldiers, without any ſuch exceſſe be terrible to behold. The frouts of their battails ſtand cloſe togethers alwaies in ſtrength furniſhed with pikes and targets for defence. That which they call their *Phalanx*, is an immoueable ſquare of footmen, wherein euery one ſtand cloſe to other, ioyning weapon to weapon. Euery Souldier is obedient to that which is commaunded him, ready at his Captains beck, whether it be to follow his enſigne, to keepe his aray, to ſtand ſtill, to run, to fetch a compaſſe to change the order of the battel, to fight on this ſide or that ſide: euery Souldier can do theſe thinges ſo well as the Captaines. And becauſe you ſhall not thinke gold and ſiluer to bee ſo effectuall to this matter, they began and obſerued this diſcipline, pouerty beeing maſters. When they be weary the ground is their bed, they are ſatisfyed with ſuch meat as they finde by chaunce, and thty meaſure not their ſleepe by the lenghth of the night. Thinke you the horſemen of Theſſaly, the Acharnans and Etolians which be inuincible men of war, will be repulſed with ſlings or ſtaues harded in the fire. It behoueth ygu to haue a like force

to

to repulse them, and to bee serued of the same kind of men. My counsel is therefore that you send this gold and siluer to wage Souldiers out of those countries from whēce they come. *Darius* was a man of meek and tractable disposition, if the height of his estate had not altered the goodnes of his nature: which made him so vnpacient to heare the truth, that hee commaunded *Charidemus* to be put straight waies to death: beeing a man that was fled to his protection, and that gaue him right profitable counsell. When he was going towards his death, he left not his liberty to speak, but said ther is one at hand that shall auēge my death: for he against whom I haue geuen y counsel, shall punish thee for not following of mine aduise. And thou beeing thus altered with the liberties thou hast being a king, shalt be an ensample to such as shall come after, that when men commit their dooinges to Fortune, they cleerly forget themselues. Whilest *Charidemus* was speaking of these words, they which had the charge committed vnto them, put him to death, whereof afterwards the King tooke ouerlate repentance, confessing him to haue spoken the truth, and caused him to bee buryed. There was one *Thymones* the Sonne of *Mentor* a young manne of great actiuity, to whom *Darius* gaue the charge of all the soul-

diers, strangers (in whom he had great confidence) willing him to receiue them at Pharnabasus handes, and gaue to Pharnabasus the rule that Memnō had before. Thus Darius being carefull of the businesse hee had in hand, whether it were through pensiuenesse of minde, or that his fancy did diuine thinges to come, was continually troubled with visions in his sleepe. Hee dreamed that the Macedōz camp was on fire. And shortly after it seemed to him that Alexander was brought to his presence in such kind of apparel as he himselfe did weare when he ws first chosen King, and that Alexander should bee carried on horseback through Babilon, and so vanish out of sight. Hereuppon the interpretors of dreames with the diuersitie of their diuining, did driue Darius into diuers ymaginations. Some said his Dreame betokened good fortune to himselfe because of the fire that seemed to bee in his Enemies Campe, and for that Alexander without anye vesture of a King, appeared in the vulgare apparaile of the Persians. Other did enterprete it otherwise: that the lightning in the Macedons Campe, signified glory and victory to Alexander, and also the enioyment of the Empyre of Asia which they made a cleare matter, for as muche as Alexander appeared in the same vestures, that

Darius

Darius ware when he was chosen king. Care besides and trouble of mind (as it chaunceth) brought things past againe to remembraunce It was rehearsed how Darius in the beginning of his reigne chaunged the scabard of his sword from the Persian maner, into the fashion that the Greekes vsed. Whereuppon the Caldeis did prognosticate that the kingdome of Persie should be translated to those, whose fashion hee had counterfaited. Notwithstanding through the confidence of such prophesies as were commonly sowen abroad, and of the vision that hee seemed to haue seene in his sleepe, became very merry, & commaunded his army to march forwardes to the riuer of Euphrates. It was the ancient custome amongst the Persians, at the Sun rising to raise their Camp, and warning of their setting forwards to be geuen by the blast of a trumpet, sounded at the kinges pauilion, vppon the which there stood an image of the Sunne enclosed in christall, shining so bright, that it might bee seene throughout the camp. The order of their marching was in this manner. The fire which they call holy and eternall, was caried before vppon siluer Aultars, and the Priestes of their Lawe wente next singinge after their countrey manner. There followed 3000. and 65. young men in skarlet robes like in nũber vnto

the dayes of the yeare. Then came the Chariot consecrated to *Iupiter* drawen with white palfreyes, a great horse following which they call the horse of the Sunne. Such as did ride vpon the palfreies did wear white garments, bearing roddes of golde in their handes. Next in order came x. chariots garnished & wrought with siluer and gold. The horsemen of twelue Nations followed next in sundry sort of Armour. Then came a company that the Persians call immortall, the riches of whose apparell exceeded farre the rest: they had all cheins of gold, coats embrodered with gold, & sleues set with pearle. There folowed within a smal distance a band of fifteene thousand called *Doripheri*, reputed for the kings kinseman, which were disguised in maner like women, more notable for their gallantnes and variety of apparell, then for the armour they did weare. Such as were wont to receiue the kings robes, did ride next before the Chariot, vppon the which *Darius* did sit on high, with great pompe and magnificence: his Chariot beeing garnished on both sides w carued images of their Gods made of siluer and gold. The Steame wherof was set with pearls and precious stones, with two Images of gold standing thereupon of a cubite length, combattaunt one against the other, and ouer their heads an Egle of gold displayed.

played. But amongest all the rest, the Kinges apparell shewed maruellous sumptuous, which was of Purple empaled white, with a border embrodered of Golde, Faulcons fighting togethers. He was girt effeminatly with a girdle of gold, and the sword that hung thereuppon, had the scabberd made of a pearl. The Diadem the King ware uppon his head called of the Persians Cydarys, had a roll about it of white and greene. Next behind the King came ten thousand horsemen, which had all their speares plated with siluer, & their speare heads gilted. He was enclosed on both sydes with two hundred of the bloud royall, at whose backes their followed thirtie thousand footmen, and after them four hundred of the kings coursers. Within the distance of one furlong Sisygambis the mother of Darius was carried in a wagon, and his wife in another, ỹ train of their Women riding on horsebacke. Next them went fifteen wagons, wherein the kings children were caried, their Nurses and Eunuches, which are greatly esteemed in ỹ countrey. And after them followed three hundred & fifty of the Kinges concubines all apparelled like Queens. Then came sixe hundred mules & three hundred Camels that carried ỹ kinges treasure, garded with a band of Archers. The wiues of the Kings kinsemen, and the other ỹ

were about the King, came riding next, & after them a great cõpany of slaues, & varlets: last came the rereward lightly armed, whereof euery captaine seuerally with his owne company closed in the Army, such was the order of Darius host. But on the other side beholding Alexãders army, ther was to be seen a great difference. Neither the men nor the horse glistered so with gold nor precious furnaments, but only with the brightnes of their Harnesse. But they were obedient at their Captaines becke alwaies in a readines to stay or to passe forwardes, neither combred with ouer greate multitude, nor pestered with to much baggage They wanted not in any place either grounde for their encãping, or victuals for their feeding whereby their small number was always sufficient when they came to fight: Whereas Darius the Lord of so huge a multitude, through the streightnes of the ground, wherein he was driuen to geue battaile, could worke but the effect of a smal number, being the thing which he before had dispised in ỹ enemy. Alexander appointed to Abistamines the rule of Capadocia, and marching with his army towardes Cilicia, came to the place called Cyrus camp, because Cyrus lodged there, when he passed into Licia against King Cressus. This place was distant about fiftye Furlonges from the

streight

streight, entering into Cilicia. The countrey men vse to call those streights Pylae, whereas the naturall situation of the place had made a fortification, as it were with mans hands: whē Arsenes gouernour of Cilicia vnderstood of Alexanders comming, remembring what opinion Memnon was of in the beginning of ꝑ wars, put in execution his wise counsell when it was too late, wasting & destroying throughout Cilicia, all such thinges as hee thought might stande his Enemy in stead, leauing the countrey waste, which he thought he was not able to defende: whereas it had him much better to haue taken the streight before his enemies, where from the hilles lying ouer the way, hee might without hasarde, either haue letted his entry, or els haue distressed him in his passing. But he leauing a smal number for the defence of the streight, retyred himselfe backe to waste the countrey, which his part had bene to defēd from destruction. By his departure it came to passe that such as he left behind, thinking thēselues betraied, would not so much as abide the sight of their Ennemyes, when a much lesse number had beene sufficient to haue kept the passage. For the situacion of Cilicia is such, that it is enuironed round about with a continuall rough and steape mountaine which rysing from the Sea on the one side, and fet-

thing a compasse about, ioyneth againe with ꝧ sea on the other side. Through the part of the mountaine, which lyeth furdest from the Sea, there be three narrow and rough passages, by one of the which they must enter, that wil passe into Cicilia. The countrey towards the Sea is plaine and full of riuers, amongst the which two bee notable, Pyramus and Cydnus, but Cydnus moste speciall, not so muche for his greatnes, as for ꝧ clearnes of his water, which from his first spring runneth pleasantly through all the Countrey, and hath no other riuer running into him to disturbe the pureneſſe of his streame. For which cause it remaineth always cleare, and also colde, by reason of the Woods that do shadow all the bankes. Time hath cõsumed many antiquities within that countrey, which be remembred of the Poets. Ther may yet bee seene the foundations of Cities of Lirnessus, and Cebestus, with the caue and wood of Corycus, where Saffron groweth, with many other things whereof nothing remaineth sauing onely the fame. When Alexander entred the Straights before mencioned, and beheld the situacion of them, hee neuer in all his life maruelled more at his own felicity & good fortune, confessing that it had not been possible for him to haue passed, if any had stoode at defence against him: for that with stones onely he might

might haue bin distressed, the straight besides beeing so narrow, that there could not passe aboue foure in a front. To the encrease of which difficultie, the tops of the mountaines hong ouer the waies which in many places were broken and made hollow, with the streams that rā downe from the hilles. Alexander sent the Thracians that were light armed, to scoze and viscouer ꝑ waies, foz feare the enemies should lie there in bushment, and sodainly breake foz th vpon him. He appointed also a bād of Archers to take the top of the hil, which were willed so to march, that they might be alwaies in a readines to fight. After this maner he came with his army to the cittie of Tarson, which was set on fyre by the Persiās, because that Alexander should finde no herbozowe there. But Parmenio was sent thether with a choise number of Hozsemen to quench the fire. Who vnderstanding that the enemies were fled away through his comming, entred into the Cittie and by that meanes saued it from burning. The Riuer of Cydnus spoken of before, did runne through this Citie, where the King arriued about midday, it beeing in the Sommer season, what time the heate is no where more feruent then in that countrey. Hee tooke such delight in the pleasantnes of the water, that he would needes bath his body, to wash awey the swea

sweat and dust he had caught. And beeing in a heate entered naked into the water in euerye mans sight, thinking it should be a contentacion to his souldiers, to see that the furnaments about his bodye were none other but such as they commonly vsed to weare. Hee was not so soon entred, but all the parts of his body bega to shake and tremble, his face waxed pale, and the liuely heate was mortifyed in all partes of his body: his seruants tooke him vp and carried him into his tent, as one beside himselfe & at the extream point of death. Then there was a great desolation and heauines in the campe, they wept, lamented, and bewailed that such a King so noble a captaine as had not been seene in any age, should thus be taken from them in the chiefe of his enterprise, and brunt of all his businesse, and that after such a maner, not in battaile slaine by his enemies, but thus cast awaye bathing in a Riuer. It greeued them that Darius now being at hand should obtaine the victory by such a chaunce, without seeing of his enemy, and that they should bee inforced to retourne backe againe as men vanquished by those countries, through the which they had passed before as victorers. In which countries all thinges beeing destroyed by themselues, or by their enemies, it was of necessity for them to dye for hunger, though no mã should pursue them

them It became a question amongst thẽselues who should be their Captaine in their flying away: or what he were ꝑ durst succeed Alexander: & though they might safely arriue at ꝑ sea of Hellespont, yet who should prepare thẽ passage there. When they had disputed these questions, their argument by and by was turned into compassion towards their Prince, lamenting as men out of their wits, that such a floure of youth, such a force of courage as was in him that the same their Kinge and companion in arms, should after this sort be taken from thẽ. In the meane season Alexander beganne to fetche his winde somewhat better, and when he came vnto himselfe hee lifted vp his eies and beganne to know his frends that were aboute him. That the vehemence of his sicknes somewhat allwaged, was perceiued in that he begã to vnderstand the perill he was in. But ꝑ pensiuenes of his minde was great hinderaunce vnto his healthe, for tydinges came that Darius within fiue dayes would bee in Cilicia, which was the chiefe thing that made him to sorrowe and lament. Hee coulde not take it but greeuously, that such a victory should bee plucked out of his handes through his infirmitie. And that he should be taken as one tyed in fetters, and bee put to some shamefull and vile death. Hee called therefore to him both his

friends

friendes and Phisitions and said vnto them: Yee see in what state of my busines fortune hath taken me. We thinke the noyse of mine enemies doe ring in mine eares, and I which moued first the warre, am now challenged and prouoked to the fight. Whē Darius did write to me such proud letters, he was not ignorant of mine estate: yet peraduenture he shall bee receiued, if I may vse mine owne mind in recouery of mine own health. My case requireth no slacke medicines, nor slowe phisitions: I had rather dye stoutly ut once, thē to consume long time in my recouery. Wherefore if there be any hope or cunning in phisick, let it be shewed. And thinke that I seeke not remedy so much for mine owne life, as I doe for the care I haue to encounter with mine enemies. Whē they heard him speake these words, they were in great doubt of his sodeine rashnes, & therefore euery one required him apart, that hee would not encrease his peril through any hast, but suffer himselfe to be ordered by the aduice of his phisitions. For they alleaged that vnproued remedies were not suspected of them without cause, seeing his enemy had gone about to corrupt such as were about him, by promising a thousande Talentes to his killer, which cause alleaged, they thought no man would bee so bolde to make any experience of

phisick

phisick vppon him, which for the want of tryall therof, might in any wise gene cause of suspection. There was amongest the excellent phisitions that came with Alexander out of Macedon, one Philip of Acornon, which was preferred to him for preseruation of his health and had faithfully serued him from his childhood, and therfore loued him with entire affectiō. He promised to prouide for the king an approued remedie, but such one as would worke vehemently: but by the drinking thereof, hee doubted not: (hee said) but to expulse the force of his disease. That promise pleased no man, but only him which in the proofe therof should abide the perill for he could endure all thinges better then delay. Darius and his power were alwaies in his eie, and he had an assured confidence that the victory should fall on his side, if he might be able but to stand in the sight of his men. The Thing that only greeued him was, that the Physition would not minister before the third day. In the meane season Parmenio whom of all his nobilitie he trusted most, had exhorted him by his letter, that hee should not commit himselfe to the cure of Philp, for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand Talents, and the promise of his sister in mariage. Those letters brought the King in great care and doubt, and mooued him to way and

ponder

ponder ſecretly with himſelfe all thoſe things, that either feare or hope could put in his head. Shall I aduenture (thought he) to drinke this medicine? what if it be poyſon, ſhall I not then bee accompted the cauſe of mine owne death? ſhall I ſuſpecte the fidelity of my Phiſition? or ſhall I ſuffer mine enemy to kill mee in my bedde? yet were it better for me to periſh by other mens treaſon, then thus to die throughe mine owne faint hart. His mind beeing thus diuerſly wrought, he would ſhew the contents of the letter to no man but ſealed it w̄ his owne ring, and layd it vnderneath his pillow. Two daies were paſſed in theſe imaginations, and the 3. day the Phiſition came to his Beds ſide with the medicine ready made. When the king ſaw him, he raiſed vp himſelfe vpon his elbow, and taking the letter in his left hande, with the other hand tooke the cuppe, and ſtreight waye ſupped it off: when he had ſo done, he deliuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whileſt hee was reading, he beheld him continually in the face, ſuppoſing that if he had been faulty, ſome token would haue appeared in his countinance. When Philip had read the letter, hee ſhewed more tokens of diſpleaſantnes then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vppon his knees, and ſaid: ſir, I ſee my life doth depende vppon your health, but your recouery ſhall declare ỹ

I

I am falsly charged with this treason: therefore when by my meanes you shall gette your health, I trust you will not then deny mee my life. In the mean season lay fear aside, and sufker the medecine to worke & to haue his operatione. Keep your mind quiet, & suffer not your selfe to be troubled w̄ the superstitious carefulnes of your frīēds, which though it proceedeth of good will, is notwithstanding much impediment vnto your health. This wordes not onely satisfied the K. but made him to conceiue perfit hope of his recouery, and said vnto Philip: If the gods would haue granted thee to deuise a mean to proue the confidence I haue in thee and the goodwill I beare thee, thou couldest not haue chosen any so good as this is: for not withstanding the letter I drancke off the medicine, beleeuing thee to be no lesse careful for declaratiōs of thine own truth thē for my health, & therwith gaue him his hād. Yet afterwards when the medicine began to worke, it was fierce in operations, that it seemed to verify Parmenio his accusement, for he fainted oft: and had much labor to draw his breath. Then Philip left nothing vnproued or vndone that might serue for his purpose. He laid warm clothes to his bodie, and alwaies as hee fainted, reuiued him againe with the sauour of one thinge and other. And when hee perceiued him once to

come

come to himselfe, hee ceassed not to feede him with talke, and one while put him in remembrance of his mother and sisters, another while of the great victory that was at hand. When the power of the medicine once entred into his veines there appeared streight in all partes of his body manifest tokens of health. First quietnes came to the spirits, and after the body recouered his strength, a great deale sooner then any man looked for. For the third day after he had been in this case hee walked in the sight of the Souldiers which wonderfullie reioyced to see him. And they shewed no lesse affection vnto Philip whom euery one seuerally embraced and gaue him thanks, as if he had been a God. It cannot be expressed besides that naturall veneration that Macedons vse to beare vnto their Prince, in what reuerence they especially had Alexander, & how feruently they loued him. They had conceiued of him an opinion that he could enterprise nothing but that it was furthered by God, and Fortune was so fauourable vnto him, that his rashnes was alwaies an increase of his glory. His age besids scarsly ripe, and yet sufficient for so great things, did marueilously set forth all his doings. And things which out of the Warres should bee counted lightnes, are wont to be most acceptable to the Souldiers, as the exercising of his Body amongst

mongst them, his apparell not differing from the common sorte, with his courage and forwardnes in the field: which giftes geuen him of nature, and things besides done of pollicie, did get him both lone & reuerence of his people. When Darius heard of Alexãders sicknes, he marched towardes the Riuer of Euphrates with all the hast he could make, in cõueying of so combrous an army. Hee made there a bridge, and in fifteene daies passed ouer, his people hauing great desire to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that time Alexander, had recouered his strength, & was come to a City called Solos, which the inhabitants yeelded vnto him, and for two hundred talents obtained assurance. Notwithstanding he put a garrison in the Castle, and there celebrated plaies and triumphes which hee had vowed to Aesculapius and Minerua, for the recouery of his health: where beeinge geuen so quietly to his pastime, shewed how little hee esteemed the comming of his enemies. Whilest Alexander was busied about these things, hee receiued pleasant newes, how his men wonne a battaile the Persians at Halicarnessus, and that the Mindians and Cawnians with diuers other nations in those parts were brought vnder his obedieuce. This triumph once ended, hee remooued, and by a bridge made ouer the

Riuer of Pyramus, hee came to the Citie of Malon: & from thence with an other remoue came to a Towne called Castabulon. There Parmenio returned to the Kinge, which had been sent to search the streights that laye betweene them and the Cittie of Isson. Hee had preuented the Parsians at the passage, and so leauing men for the defence thereof, tooke the Citie of Isson that was left desolate. Hee departed from thence, and did driue the Persians out of the mountaines, searching & clearing al the waies: so ỳ hauing made all things sure for the army to passe, hee returned againe both the author of the acte, and reporter of the thing done. Alexander encamped within the citie, and there debated in counsell whether it were better to passe on further, or else to tary there for a more sure power which was comming to him out of Macedon. Parmenio was of opinion that this place was most meetest to abide Darius in, and geeue him battayle, where both the Armies should be of like force by reason of the Streightes, wherein no great multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschue the plainnesse, wherein their Enemies should haue great aduauntage throughe their great number that might enclose them about. Wherein (hee said) he doubted not his enemies stoutnes, but onely

feared

feared that their owne men might be ouercoin with wearinesse, where a multitude shoulde fight with a few, and fresh men succeed in the place of them that fainted. This counsaile was receiued for good and Alexander determined in the same place to abide his enemies. There was in the Host of the Macedons one Sysenes a Persian, sent before time from the gouernoure of Egipt vnto king Philip: who beeing aduaunced with reward and promocions, choose to liue out of his owne countrey, & so following Alexander into Asia, was esteemed among those that the king trusted well. A souldier of Creete deliuered him a letter from Nabarzanes Darius Lieuetenant, wherein he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby he might win fauour and reputation with Darius. Sisenes innocent of this matter, was about diuers times to present the letter to the King, but seeing him occupyed with waighty affairs of prouision for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whilest hee waited for a more conuenient tyme, hee brought him selfe in suspicion of treason. For the Letter was brought to the Kinges handes before it was deliuered to him: who reading it, did seale ỹ same wth a strange seale, & caused it to beliuered it to Sisenes to prooue thereby his fidelity. But because he cõcealed the thing many dates

and opened not the matter to the King, it seemed that he consented thereunto: And therefore by the Kinges commaundement hee was put to death by the hande of the Cretenstians. The Greek Souldiers which Thimodes had receiued of Pharnabasus (beeinge those that Darius trusted most) were come to him: they perswaded much Darius to retire backe into the plaines of Mesopotania, and if hee woulde not do so, that at the least he should deuide his power, and not commit the whole force of his estate to one stroke of Fortune. This counsayle was not so displeasant vnto ỹ King, as it was to such as were about him. For they sayd mercenarie souldiers were alwaies full of treason, and were to be doubted the more for that they counselled the army to be deuided, which was for no other purpose, but only that they might haue commoditie to flie vnto Alexander, whē they should haue any charge committed vnto them. There is nothing therefore more sure for vs (quoth they) then to enclose them rounde about with our armye, and to cut them in pieces, for an example to the worlde that treason should neuer bee left vnreuenged. But Darius which was of a meeke and good disposition, refused to committe so cruell an act, in fleying such as had betaken themselues to his trust: For if wee should file our handes (quoth hee)

with

with their bloud, what ſtrange Nacion would euer then commit themſelues into our hãds: alleaging that there ought no man to looſe his life for geuing foliſh counſaile. For who would behold to geue counſell, if in counſelling there ſhould be any perill: I call you (quod hee) to counſell daily, and heare the diuerſity of your opinions, and yet miſtruſt not them that geue me not alwaies the beſt counſell. He cauſed ỹ Greekes to be anſwered, that hee gaue them thanks for their goodwill. But in returning backe, he ſaid he would geue vp his Countrey into his enemies handes, which were not conuenient. And conſidering the force that fame is of in warre, in going backe hee ſhould appear to flye. But to differ the fight he thought it worſt of all, ſeeing ſo great an army as hee had (the Winter then approching) could not be victualed in a deſolate Countrey, that had been waſted both by themſelues, and by their enemies. And for the deuiding of his power he ſhewed that he could not doo it, obſeruing the cuſtome of his Predeceſſors, which were not wont to hazard the battail, but with whole power hee declared that Alexander before his comming ſeemed terrible to the World, and throughe his abſence was brought in a vaine preſumption. But after he ſaw him come forwards, became wary and well aduiſed, hiding

him in the straightes of the Mountaines, like those coward Beasts which hearing the noise of commers by, do hide themselues in ꝑ dēnes of ꝑ woods. Hee hath blinded his souldiers (qd he) with his counterfait sickues, but now I wil not suffer him to ꝓlong the fight any longer, which if he will refuse, I will oppresse him in his lurking hole. These wordes he spake with greater anaunt then truth, and sent his treasure and Iewels with a small conuoye to Damasco in Syria, & entred with his armye into Cilicia, bringinge with him accoꝛding to his Countrey manner, both his mother, his wife, his litle sonne, & his daughter. It chanced the same night that Alexander was come to the streight entring into Siria, Darius came vnto the place which they call Pilae Amanicae: the Persians not doubting at all but that the Macedons would haue forsaken the citie of Issos, and fled away for feare. For certaine of them that were weak & could not followe the army were taken, the which Darius through instigacion of the great men about him raging in barbarous cruelty, caused their handes to bee cut off, and to bee led about his campe, to the entent they might behold ꝑ multitude of his men, whom after sufficient view taken, he let them goe to shew Alexander what they had seene. Darius remoued and passed the riuer of Pyramus,

ramus, purposing to pursue after the Macedons, which hee thought had beene flyinge away. They which had their handes cutte off, came running in amongst the Macedons, declaring, that Darius was comming in greate hast. There was scarcelye anye credence geeuen to their woordes, but to bee sure, Alexander sent Spyes towardes the Sea Coaste, to knowe whether Darius were there in Person, or else had sent some other to make a shewe of a power. The Spies returning, did report that his whole Army was at hande, and straight waies the fiers might bee seene, which gaue such a shew (by reason they lay straglinge so farre abroode to get forage) as though ỹ whole countrey had bin on fire. Whē Alexander was acertained of the truth, hee encamped in the same place where the tydings came vnto him, beeing maruellous gladde because he knew hee should fight, specially in the streights, being the thing that he had alwaies desired. But as it is commonly seene, when danger and extremity is at hand, confidence is conuerted into fear. So doubted not without great cause, that fortune might change vppon him, by whose fauoure hee had done so great actes, and considering her mutability vs such things, as she had taken from other, and gcuē to him. Hee saw there was no prorogation of

the time, but that after one Night passed, the victory should bee determined. Yet on the other side, hee called vnto remembrance how ꝑ rewarde ensuing of the victorye, farre exceeded the aduenture. For as the chauuce was doubtfull, so beeing discomfited, he was certaine to die with honour and perpetuall praise. When he had waied these things, he gaue order that ꝑ souldiers should refresh themselues and at the third warch to be armed and in a readines to set forwards. Hee himselfe went vp into the the top of a Mountain with many torches and lights about him, where he made sacrifice vnto the gods after his Countrey maner. And when the houre was come appointed vnto the souldiers at the 3. sound of the trompet, they were in a readines both to march and fight. Then exhortacion was geuen vnto them to passe on with bolde courage, and so by the spring of ꝑ day they were come to ꝑ straights, wherein their purpose was to preuent Darius. By that time such as were sent before to skower the Countrey, came in, and reported that the Persians were within thirtye Furlonges. Then the Battels were staied, and set in such order as they should fight. Like as Alexander was enformed of Darius, so hee was aduertised of Alexander by the peasantnesse of the Countrey, which came fearfullie running

vnto

vnto him, declaring that Alexander was at hand. These wordes were not beleeued: for they could not thinke them to bee comming whom they thought before to be fled. But when they perceiued that it was so indeede, because they were in better order to pursue their Enemies then to encounter with them in battayle, they were striken with a mernellous sodaine feare. Euery man tooke him to his armour in haste, which hast, and the calling that one made vpon another did put a greater feare amongst them. Some ran vp to the tops of the hils to viewe the Macedõs, other fell to bridling their horses. So that the Host full of diuersitie, and not ruled by any certaine gouernment, with their hurley burley, put all things out of order. Darius at the first had appointed one parte of his power to take the Mountain, which setting vpon his Enemies backes might enclose them both behinde and before: and assigned another company to passe along the sea side which was on the right hand, to keepe his enemies dooing on euery part. He gaue order also that twenty thousand footmẽ with a lãd of archers should passe the riuer of Pyramus, and geue an onset that way. But if they found any impediment why they might not doe so, then he willed them to retire amongst the Mountaines and inuade their enemies on their backes. But Fortune

which

which was of greater force then any pollicye, determined thoſe things that were well deuiſed, according as ſhe thought good. For ſome durſt not for feare execute the thing that was commaunded them, and then the reſt worked in vaine: For where the Members faile, the whole body is confounded. The order of Darius army ſtoode thus aranged to fight: his power being deuided into two battailes: one marching on the left hande, and the other on ꝑ righte. Nabarzanes enpaled the battaile on the right hand with a great power of horſmen and thirtie thouſand Slingers and Archers. Thymones was alſo in the battaile with xxx. thouſand mercenarie Greeks, beeing in very deed Darius chiefeſte force: a power equall vnto Phalanx of the Macedons. In the battaile on the left hand Ariſtomenes was in ꝑ forefront with xxx. M. footmen, hauing plãted for his ſuccour & reliefe, ſuch nacions as were counted moſt valiant. There were about the K. beeing alſo in the battaile three thauſande choiſe horſemen, that were of the ordinarie guard of his perſon, & xl. M. footmen, with the horſemen Hircany and Media, and the horſmen of other Nations were winges on both ſides. And beſides theſe numbres there went before his battel in a forlorn hoope vi. thouſãd Slingers and caſters of Darts. All the plain

ground

ground between the streights was filled with men of war, and Darius battell stood arranged from the mountaine down to the sea side. The mother and wife of Darius with all the flockes of women, were receiued in the midst of the battaile. Alexander on the other side set his square battail of footmen called Phalanx (beeing the Macedons chiefest force) in the forefront. Nicanor the sonne of Parmenio was captaine of the battaile on the right hand, and with him Cenos & Perdicas, Meleager, Ptolomeus, & Amintas were ioined euery one with his own band. Parmenio and Caterus had the rule of the battaile on the left hand which stretched towardes the Sea, but Parmenio had the chiefe charge. Horsemen were set in wings to both those battails. The Macedō men, & Thessalien horsmen being appointed to the right hand battail, & the horsemen of Peloponese to the battail on the other syde, before which battaile there were also set Slingers with Archers amongst them, and the Cretesians that were lightlye armed, went before the maine battaile. The band of Agrians that were lately come out of Greece were assigned to encounter with those that Darius had sent to take the top of the mountaine. Hee willed Parmenio that as much as he might, hee should stretch out his bande towards

wards the sea to withdraw so far as hee could from the hilles which the Enemies had taken: But such as had direction by Darius take the hils, neither durst resist such as came against them, nor yet compasse about suche as were passed by them, but fled away at the first sight of the Slingers. Which thing chaunced well for Alexander, for it was the thinge that hee doubted most, that they from the higher grou̇d should inuade ꝑ open side of his battail, which lay vnflanked towards them. The Macedons marched 32. in a ranke, for the streightnes of the ground would not suffer them to goe any broader, but by litle and litle as the plaine betweene the Mountaines began to enlarge, so they had libertie both to make their battailes broader, and also for the horsemen to march vpon the sides. When both the battailes were com within sight togethers, the Persians first gaue a terrible and rude shout, which was againe doubled of the Macedons, not with their number, which were far inferiour vnto ꝑ Persiã̄s, but with the rebound of the hilles and the rockes, which doubled euery voyce of theirs. Alexander did ride vp and downe before the fronts of his battailes, making a signe to his soulduers with his hande, that they should not make ouer much hast to ioyne with their enemies, for bringing themselues out of breath.

And

And as he passed by, hee vsed to euery Nation sundry exhortacions, as hee thought meete for their disposicions and quality. He put the Macedons in remẽbrance of their old prowes and manhod with the nnmber of battails that they had won in Europe, how that they were come thether aswell by his conduct, to subdue Asia and the vttermost boundes of the Orient. Hee shewed them to be the people that were ordeined to conquere the Worlde, and to passe the boundes both of Hercules and Bachus. Hee declared that both Bactria and Inde shoulde be theirs, in respect of which the coũtryes that they had seene were but trifles, and yet were to be gotten all with one victory: wherein hee said, their trauell should not bee in vaine, as it was in the barraine rockes of Illiria, or in the Mountains of Thrace, but that in this conquest the spoile of the whole Orient was offred vnto them. For the gettinge whereof they shoulde scarsely neede to occupy their swords, since ỹ battails of their enemies wauered so alreadie for feare, that with their approche onely they should put them to flight. He reduced his Father Philip vnto their memorye, how hee conquered ỹ Athenians with the conntree of Boetia, where hee rased to the ground the noble citie of Thebes. After that he made rehearsall of the battaile won at the riuer of Granicke, &

of

of all the Cities that he had taken, or that had beene yeelded vnto him, with the Countreis they had passed throughe and subdued. When hee came vnto the Greekes hee desired them to call to mind the great warres that had bene made against their Countrey in tymes passe by the Persians. First by the pryde of Xerxes, and after by Darius, who made destruction both by water and land in such sorte that the riuers could not serue them of drinke, nor the earth of victuals for to eat: rehersing also how the temples of their gods had beene by them polluted and put to ruine, their Citties ouerthrowen, & the truces and promises by thē violated & broken, that were confirmed both by diuine and humain lawes. When he passed by the Illirians and Thracians which were accustomed alwaies to liue vppon theft, & spoil: he bade them behold their enemies which glistered with Golde, and bare no armoure, but spoile for them to take. Hee encouraged them to goe forwards like men, and plucke the pray from those effeminat women, and to make exchaunge of their craggy rockes and bare hills alwaies ful of snow, for the plentifull grounds and rich lands of Persie By the time hee had made these exhortacions, they were com within the throw of their darts. And Darius horsmen gaue a fierce charge vppon the right hād

battail

battaile of the Macedons. For Darius desire was to trie the battaile by horsemen, iudging (as it was indeed) that the chiefest power of his enemies consisted in their square battaile of footmen. So that the battaile where Alexander remained, was brought to the point of enclosing about, if hee had not perceiued the same in time, who commaunded two troopes of his horsemen to keep the top of the hill, and brought all the rest to the encounter of his enemies. Then he conueied the Thessalie horsmen from the place where they stood to fight, willing their Captain to bring them about behind the battails, and there ioyning with Parmenio, to doe ỹ thing manfully that he should appointe them. By this the Phalanx of the Macedons in manner enclosed aboute with their enemies, fought notablye on all partes, but they stoode so thicke, and were so ioyned one to an other, that there wanted scope to weld their Darts. They were so mingled together, that in casting one letted another, very few lighted vpō the enemies with weak diuts and the most part fell on the ground without harme dooing, wherefore beeing enforced to ioyne hande for hande, they valiantly vsed the sword. Then ther was great effusiō of bloud: for both the armies closed so neare, that their harneis clashed together, weapō against weapon

pō, and foined one at anothers face with their swords. There was no place for the fearefull or the coward for to flye backe, but each set his foot to another, and by fighting kept still their place, till they could make their way by force, and so alwaies passed forwardes, as they had once ouerthrowē their enemies. As they were wearied and trauelled thus with fighting, they were euer receiued with fresh enemies: & such as were wounded might not depart out of the battaile (as it hath beene seen allwhere) their Enemies assailed them so fiercely before, and their fellowes thrust on so hard behind. Alexander that daye did not onely such thinges as pertained to a Captain, but aduentured himselfe as far as any priuat souldier, coueting by all meanes to kill Darius, which hee esteemed the greatest honor. Darius did ride aloft vpon his chariot, geuing great prouocation both to his enemies to assaile him, & for his owne men to defend him. As Oxatres the brother appeared most notable amongst them all in his furniture and personage, so in hardines and affection towards the King, he exceeded farre the rest specially in that case of necessitie. For whē he saw Alexander approch so neere, he thrust in before Darius with the bande of horsemen, wherof he had the charge, wheras ouerthrowin diuers, he put many to flight. But the Macedons

cedons swarmed so aboute the Kinge, and were in such a courage by the exhortatiō that ech made to other, that they charged againe vppon the band of horsemen. Then the slaughter was greate, and the ouerthrowe manifest. About the chariot of Darius the noblest of his Captains lay, dying honourably in the sighte of their Prince. For like as they receiued their deaths woundes, so they fell without turning their backes. Amongst them Atycies, Romithres, and Sabaces gouernour of Egypt, hauing the charge of great nūbers of men, were ouerthrowen and slaine, and about them there lay by heaps a huge nūber of the vulgar sort, both of horsemen and footmen. Of the Macedons also some were slaine, specially of such as pressed most forward, among whom the right shoulder of Alexander lightly was hurt with a sworde. In this thronge the horses that drue Darius Chariot, were thrust in with Pikes, which beeing wood for paine of their wounds, began to struggle and ouerthrow their master. He fearing therefore to be taken aliue, leaped downe and was set vppon a leade horse, and so fled away, casting his Diadem from his head because hee woulde not bee knowen. Then all his men for feare dispersed, flying by such waies as were open for them, and threw away their armour, which before they had taken for

their defence. Suche a thing is feare, that refuseth the thing that should bee his safegarde. When Parmenio sawe them flie, hee streight commaunded the horsemen to pursue them in the chase, and put all his enemies to flight that were on that part. But on the other hande the Persians did put the Thessalien horsemen to a sore distresse, for at the first shocke they had broken one of their troups: yet for all that whē ỳ Thessaliās saw their enemies passe through them, they closed themselues together againe, & charged vpon the Persians, who by reason of their onset geuinge, & for that they thought themselues sure of the victory, became cleane out of order, and were ouerthrown with great slaughter. The Thessaliens had herein a great aduantage by reason that the Persiās besides ỳ they be armed themselues, haue their horses also barbed with plates of steele, which was ỳ cause they could not on the onset, or retire be so quicke, as the Thessalians were: for by their celeritie, wherein the feat of horsemen chiefly cōsisteth, they had ouerthrowen many of them before they could turne their horses about. whē Alexander vnderstood that his men preuailed of their enemies on ỳ part likewise, was bolde then to follow in the chase, which hee durst not do before hee knewe the battaile to bee clerely wonne, & the enemies repulsed on all sides. A-

lexander

lexander had not about him aboue .v. horse-
men, with whom he slew innumerable of his e-
nemies. For who is he that in an ouerthrow or
chase can number men? Those few Macedōs
did giue the multitude of their enemies before
them like sheepe, and the same fear that caused
them flie, staied them likewise in their flying.
The Grecians that were on Darius side, vnder
their Captain Amyntas (which sometime had
been in great authority with Alexander, but
then against him) brake out from the rest, and
marched away in order of battaile. All the rest
fled diuers waies, some directly towards Per-
sie, and some by pathes, and priuie waies esca-
ped by the mountains and the woods. A fewe
there were ẏ recouered their former Campe,
which they could not defend any time against ẏ
Macedons that were victours, but the same
immediatlye was won, being aboundant of
all riches, of golde and siluer, appertaining not
onely to the wars, but to all voluptuousnes &
excesse: which riches whiles the souldiers vio-
lētly spoiled, they strowed ẏ waies ful of packs
& fardels, which they would not touch, in res-
pect of the couetous desire they had to thinges
of greater valew. But when they came vnto
ẏ women, as their tirements were most pretī-
ous, so ẏ more violently they plucked the away
& their bodies were not free frō their lust & en-

forcement. The campe euerie where was full of tumult and lamentacion, as chaunce fell to each one. The licentiousnes of the victorers was such, that their crueltie raged vpon all ages and kind of creatures, and no kinde of mischiefe wanted amongst them. There might haue bin seen the variablenes of fortune, when they which had prepared Darius pauilion with all kind of delicacy and rich furniture, reserued and kept the same for Alexander as for their olde master. For the Macedons had left that vnspoiled according to their ancient custome, which are euer wonte to receiue their K. when he is victorious into the Kinges pauilion that he hath vanquished. The mother and wife of Darius þ ther were taken prisoners, moued al men to cast their eies and inward contemplacion towards them, whereof the one deserued to bee reuerenced for the Maiestie that was in her, and for her age, and the other for the excellency of her beauty, which through her miseadu̅ture was nothing stained. She was seen embracing her little sonne in her armes, not yet of the age of six yeares, borne as enheritour to the dominion which his Father newly had lost. There lay also two young virgins in their grandmothers lap, euen then mariable, which la̅guished and lamented not so much through their own priuat sorow, as for the dolorousnes

of

of the old woman. About the mother and the wife were a great number of noble women that pulled their haire and tare their clothes, without respect what appertained to their estate. Who vnmindful of ȳ fall of Darius wife and his mother were come vnto, called them still by the name of Queenes, with such other titles of honor as they did before. They all forgetting their own misery, were diligent to enquire the fortune of the field, and what succes the battaile had where Darius was. For if he were aliue (they saide) they coulde in no wise thinke themselues Prisoners. But he by the chaunging of many horses, was by that time fled farre away. There were slaine of the Persian footmen a hundred thousand, and ten M. horsemen. And of Alexanders company onely 504. hurt, and 32. footmen and 41. horsemē killed. So great a victorie was gotten with so small a losse. Alexander that was wearied with pursuing of Darius, when hee perceiued the night to drawon, and that there was noe hope to ouertake him whom hee followed, returned into the Persians campe, which a litle before his comminge was taken by his men. That night he made a banquet to such as hee accustomed to call, for the hurte of his shoulder, whereof the skinne was but smally perished, letted him not to keepe companie. As

they sate at meate, sodainly they heard a pitifull crie, with a straunge howling and lamentation, that put them all in great feare: in so much that the band that kept the watch about the kings pauilion, fearing it to be the beginning of some greater matter, began to arme themselues. The wife & mother of Darius, with the other noble women newly taken prisoners, were the cause of his sodaine feare, by lamenting of Darius, whom they supposed had bin slain. Which opinion they conceiued through one of the Eunuches, which standing before their tent doore, saw a souldior cary a parcel of Darius diadem, which he a little before had cast from his head. When Alexander vnderstood their errour, he wept (as it was said) to consider Darius misfortune, & the womens affection towards him. And for their comfort sent to thē one Mithrenes that betraied Sardes, who was expert in the Persian toung, but yet considering that the sight of him being a traitour, should but increase their sorrow, sēt a noble man called Leonatus, to declare to them how they were deceiued, and that Darius was aliue. He came towards the tent where the womē were, with certaine men in harneys, & sent word before, that he was come thyther from the king. But when such as stood at the tent doore saw armed men comming, supposing their errand had beene to

murther

murther their mistresses, ran into them, & cryed out that their last howre was come, for the men were at hand that were sent to kill them. The seruants therefore that neither durst let Leonatus in, nor keepe him out, brought him no answer, but remained quietly to see what he would do. When Leonatus had long tarried at the doare, & saw none came forth to call him in, left his men without, & entred amongst the women. Whose comming vnto them before he was admitted, was the thing that feared them most of al. The mother therfore & wife of Darius fell downe at his feete, requiring him that before they were slaine, he would suffer them to burie Darius after his countrey manner: which last obseruance performed, they were content (they said) gladly to suffer death. Leonatus assured them that both Darius was a liue, & that there was no harme towards them, but should remaine in the same estate they were in before. When Sisigambis heard those words, she suffered her selfe to be lift vp from the ground, and to receiue some comfort. The next day Alexander with great diligence, buried the bodies of such of his own men as could bee founde, and willed the same to bee done to the noble men of the Persians, giuing licence to Darius mother to burye so many as shee list, after the custome of her countrey. Shee per-

fourmed the ſame to a few that were nexte of her kinne, according to the habilitie of her preſent fortune, for if ſhe ſhould haue vſed ẏ Perſians pomp therin, the Macedons might haue enuied it, which being victorers vſed no great curioſitie in the matter. When the due was performed to the dead, Alexander ſignified to the women priſoners, ẏ hee himſelfe would come to viſit them, and cauſing ſuch as came with him to tary without, he only with Epheſtion entred in amongeſt them. The ſame Epheſtion of all men was moſt deare vnto Alexander, brought vp in his company from his youth, & moſt priuie with him in all things. Ther was none that had ſuch liberty to ſpeak his mind plainly to the king as hee had, which he vſed after ſuch ſort, that he ſeemed to doe it by no authority, but by ſufferance. And as hee was of like yeares vnto him, ſo in ſhape and perſonage he did ſomewhat excell him: wherefore the women thinking Epheſtion to be the King, did fall down and worſhip him (as their countrey manner was to doo to kings) till ſuch time as one of the Eunukes that was taken priſonner, ſhewed which of them was Alexander. Then Siſigambis fell down at his feet requiring pardō for her ignorance, for ſo much as ſhe did neuer ſee him before. The king toke her vp by the hand, and ſaid, mother you be not deceiued

deceiued, for this is Alexander also. Which his humility and continency of mind if hee had continually obserued to his latter daies, hee might haue been thought much more happier then he was, when that he hauing subdued all Asia from Hellespont to the Ocean Sea, did counterfait the triumphs of Bacchus. Or if ỹ amongst the rest of his conquests, hee would haue laboured to conquer his pride and his ire, beeing vices inuincible. Or if in his dronkenes he would haue abstained from the slaughter of his nobility, and not to haue put to death those excellent men of war without iudgement which helped him to conquere so many Nacions: But at this time the greatnes of his fortune had not yet altered his nature, though afterwardes hee could not beare his victories with that vertue he did win them. Then hee behaued himselfe after such a maner, that hee exceeded in continency and compassion, all the Kinges that had been before his time. He entertained the 2. Queenes with those Virgins that were of excellent beautie so reuerently, as if they had been his sisters. He not only abstained from all violation of Darius wife, whiche in beautie excelled all the women of her time, but also tooke great care and diligence, that none other shoulde procure her to anie dishonour. And to all the women hee commaunded

their

their ornaments and apparel to be reſtored. So that they wāted nothing of the magnificence of their former eſtate, ſauing onelye the aſſured confidence that Creatures wante in miſerie. Which things conſidered by Siſygambis, ſhee ſaid vnto the king. Sir, your goodnes towards vs doth deſerue, that we ſhould make the ſame prayer for you, that we did ſometime for Darius, & we perceiue you worthy to paſſe ſo great a King as he was in felicitie, and good fortune, that abound ſo in Juſtice and clemencie. You vouchſafe to call mee by the name of Mother and of Queene, but I confeſſe my ſelfe to bee your Handmaide. For both I conceaue the greatneſſe of my eſtate paſte, and feele that I can beare this preſent ſeruitude. It lyeth only in your hands how we ſhall be dealt withall, & whether you will make vs notable to ꝑ world, through your clemency or cruelty. The king comforted them all he might, and willing them to be of good cheare, tooke Darius ſon in his armes. Thereat the child was nothing afraid, hauing neuer ſeen him before, but tooke & imbraced him about the neck. He was ſo mooued wᵗ the cōfidency of ꝑ child, that he beheld Epheſtion and ſaid: oh I would that Darius had had ſome part of this gentle diſpoſition. Whē he was departed from thence, he cauſed three aultars to be made vpon ꝑ riuer of Piramus,

and

and there did sacrifice to Iupiter, Hercules, and Minerua, and so went forwards into Siria. He sent Parmenio before to Damasco, whereas Darius treasure did remain: who vnderstanding by the way that Darius had sent one of his nobles thither, fearing that for the smalnes of his owne number the Damascens would kepe him out, determined to send for a greater power. But by chance one Mardus fell into the hands of the horsemen that he had sent before to scowre ꝑ countrey, which being brought before Parmenio, deliuered him the letters ꝑ the captaine of Damasco had sent to Alexander, & besides ꝑ letters, added of himselfe, that he doubted not but al Darius riches and his treasure should be deliuered to him at his arriual. Parmenio gaue the charge to certeine of his men for his sure keeping, and then opened ꝑ letters, wherin, it was cõteined that Alexãder in al hast should send 1. of his captains thither with a small power. Which thing knowen, he sent Mardus back againe to Damasco, with certaine to accompany him: but he escaped out of their hãds, and came to Damasco before day light. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubting that his enemies had laid some ambushment for him, & therfore durst not go an vnknowẽ way without a guid. Yet notwithstanding, vppon the confidence

her

be had in the felicitie of his Prince, tooke peaſants of the countrey to conduct him the way, which the fourth day brought him to the Citie of Damaſco. The Captain doubting the credence ſhould not be geuen to his Letter, pretended to miſtruſt the ſtrength of the town, and made countenance as though he would flye away. By the ſpring of the day hee cauſed Darius Treaſure (which the perſians call *Gaza*) with the reſt of all his precious thinges to bee brought forth of the town of purpoſe to betray the ſame into the Macedons handes. There were many thouſandes of Men and Women that followed, a piteous ſight to all that ſawe them, ſauing to him to whoſe fidelity they wer committed. For he to win himſelfe thankes, purpoſed to deliuer to his Ennemies a praye more precious thē all the reſt, which were ſuch of the nobilitie as he had in keeping, with the Wiues and children of great men that bare rule vnder Darius: and beſides the Embaſſadours of the Cities of Greece, whom Darius had left in the traiterous hands as in a fortres to his thinking, of moſt ſuretie. The Perſiās call thoſe (*Gangabe*) that carie burthens vpon their ſhoulders, who hauinge the carriage of things of moſt valure, when they could not endure the cold for the froſt and ſnow, that ſodenly fell, they put vppon them the robes of clothe

of

of Gold and purple, which they caried wapt vp together with the money, there beinge no man to let them. For the aduersitie of Darius caused that base sort of men to vse a licencious liberty. Those kind of men seemed to Parmenio at the first sight to be no small army, and therefore regarded not the matter lightly, but gaue exhortacion to those that were with him, as though they should haue fought a sore battaile, and willed them to put their spurres to their horse, and geue the charge. Which thing perceiued by them that bare the burdens, they fled away for feare, and so did the men of war that were with them, by such waies as they best knew. The Captaine of Damasco counterfaiting such feare as other feared in deede, was the cause of al this confusion. The riches of Darius was left aloue, and lay sparkled abroade ouer all the fields, with the mony that was prepared for the wages of so infinit a nũbre of souldiers, and also the apparell of so many great men and noble womẽ, vessels of golden furniments for horses, pauilions adorned with regall magnificence, and Wagons full of infinite riches. A thing euen sorrowfull to behold to the spoilers, if any thing could stay the couetousnes of men. Was it not a pitifull thing to behold, the riches that had bin gathered together in so greate number of yeares,

whiles

whiles the state of the Persians stoode in that incredible height of fortune, one part to be torn with bushes, and another drowned in the mire, it being so great besides, that the hands of the spoilers could not suffice for the spoile. When the horsmen had ouertaken them that fled, first they found diuers women carying of the small children, amongst whom ther were four Virgins, the daughters of Occhus, that reigned next before Darius. They before ẏ time had suffered change of fortune, when the state was altered frō their fathers time. But this aduersitie was muche more greeuous vnto them. There was in this flocke the wife of Occhus, the daughter of Oxatrix ẏ was Darius mother, and the wife of Artabasus which was of the head house of Persia, with his Sonne also called Ilionesus. The Wife and the sonne of Farnabasus were also taken, to whom Darius had commieted ẏ charge of all the sea coasts and with them the three daughters of Mentor, the wife and the son of the noble Captain Memnon. There was scarcely any house of the nobilitie of Perse free from that euill aduenture. There were both Lacedemonians & Athenians, ẏ contrarie to the league betweene Alexander and them, tooke Darius part: amongest the Athemāȝ Aristogiton, Dropides, and Leuertes were of most notable fame

and

and lmage. And of the Lacedemonians ỹ chiefest were Perisippus and Onomastorides with Omamys and Callicratides. The sum of the coined money there taken, was 2. thousand and sixtie talents, and of massy sluer fiue hundred talents. Beside thirtie thousand men, and seuen thousand beasts that carried burdēs on their backes. But the Gods did persecute with due punishment ỹ betraier of such a treasure. For one whom he had made priuie to the matter, pitying therin the estate of his Prince, did slay the traitor, and brought his heade to Darius. A comforte not vnapt for the time to the betraied king: for thereby he was both reuenged of his enemie, and perceiued that the memorie due vnto his estate, was not growen out of all mens harts.

# The 4. Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander* the great King of *Macedon*.

DArius whiche a little before was Lord of so greate an army, and that came vnto the field, caried aloft vppon his Chariot, more like to triumph then to fight: fled by the places then waste and desart, which he before had filled with his infinit numbers of men of war. There were but fewe that followed him: For neither they fled all one way, nor such as followed coulde keepe pace with him that so often changed horses. At length he came to Vnchas where he was receiued of foure M. Greekes, which conducted him to the riuer of Euphrates, thinking all such his countries to bee lost, in the which he coulde not preuent Alexander by hast making. Parmenio was appointed gouernour of Siria, and to be the keper of the treasure and prisoners which he tooke at Damasco. The Sirians could not at ꝑ first beare the new gouerment, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres, but as they re-

uolted

nolted, they were straight way subdued, perfourming all that they were appointed to do. The Isle of Arade was yeelded to Alexãder, wherof Strato was King, that had in subiection all the sea coast, with diuers of the Iland countries, who submitting himself, Alexander, remoued to the City of Marathõ. There he receiued letters from Darius, that put him in great choler, because they were so arrogãtly written. The special point that mooued Alexander, was for that Darius writing himselfe king, did not vouchsafe to geue him that title, but did write rather by way of commaundement then of request, proffering for the raunsome of his wife and children, so much money as Macedon could receiue. For the superioritie (he said) hee put it to his choise, to trie it by the sword if he list. But if he would be better aduised, hee willed him to be content with his owne enheritance, and so he would ioine in amitie with him, & become his frend, in which point hee was ready to enter into treaty. Alexander did write to him againe after this maner:

Darius whose name thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vppon the Greekes inhabiting on the coast of Hellespont, and vppon the Ionians, which be Greeke Cities passing from thence the sea with a great army to make warre against Greece and Macedon. And also King Xerxes thy predecessour

came to ſubdue vs with infinite numbers, which being vanquiſhed in a battaile on the Sea, left notwithſtanding Mardonius behinde him in Greece, to deſtroy their Cities and burne their Countries. It is manifeſt beſides, that Philip my Father was ſlaine by ſuch as were corrupted thereunto with your money. Yee vndertake alwaies vniuſt warres, and occupying armes, goe about for all that to circumuent men with treaſon. As thou of late, hauing ſuch number of men in thyne armye, didſt procure my death with the promiſe of a thouſand Talents. I am not therefore the beginner of the warres, but repulſe ſuch iniuryes as be proffered mee. In dooing whereof through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour alway the right) haue brought the more part of Aſia vnder my ſubiection: and hauing ouercome thee in battaile by force of armes, ther is no cauſe that I ſhould grant thee any thinge, which haſt not obſerued towardes mee the law of armes, yet if thou wilt come and ſubmit thy ſelf, I promiſe thee that I will deliuer both thy mother, wyfe, and children: for both I knowe how to get the victory, and how to vſe ſuch as I ouercome, but if thou feareſt to commit thy ſelfe to vs. I will geue thee ſafe conduit to come freely. In the reſt when thou writeſt vnto mee, remember that thou writeſt not only to a Kinge, but alſo vnto him that is thy Kinge.

He ſent this letter by Therſippus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the Cities Biblon was yeelded vnto him: and ſo came vnto Sydon, which was a Citie of great nobilitie, by reaſon of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The ſame was vnder Stratos Dominion, ſupported by the power of Darius,

who

who yeelding more by the constraint of the people, then of his own goodwil, was thought vnworthy to reigne there. Alexander made a grant to Ephestion that hee shoulde make such one king, whom the Sidon thought most worthy that estate. There were diuers noble yonge men in that Citie that had familiaritie with Ephestiō, of whom he purposed to haue chosen one King: but they refused his offer: affirming that none might enioy that dignity, except, hee were descended of the bloud royall. Ephestion wondered at the magnanimitie that was in them, in despising the thing which other sought for by sword and fire, and therefore said: continue you still in that vertuous mind, which be the first that haue vnderstanding, how much better it is to refuse then to receiue a kingdome. Choose you therefore such one of the bloud royall, that may remember hee hath receiued the rule at your hands. But when they saw diuers gaping for it, and for the greedines they had to reigne, fel to flattering of such as were neere about Alexāder resolued þ there was none more meet for that dignitie, then one Abdolominus, who being of þ ancięt bloud of the kings, for pouerty was enforced to dwell in a small grange without the Citie. His honesty was the cause of his pouertye (as it is to many other) and beeing

occupied in his dailie labour, heard no noise of the warres that troubled all Asia. They of whom we spake before, came into his garden with garmentes to apparell him like a King, and found him weeding of his ground, whom they saluted King, and said: You must make exchange of the vilenes of your apparell, with these rich robes we here present you. Wash ỹ bodie that is now foule and filthy, take vpon you the harte of a Kinge, and in this Fortune whereof you bee worthie, shew the same moderacion and continencie you do vse presently. And when you shall sit in your regall seat hauing in your hãds power of the life & death of your people, do in no wise forget the estate yee were in when yee tooke the kingdome vpon you, nor yet for what purpose yee did receiue it. The matter seemed to Abdolominus like a dreame, and asked them if they were mad that would mocke him after that maner. But when he sawe them affirme by othes the thing to be in earnest, he washed himselfe, and receiuing the garment which was of purple & gold, went with them into ỹ palace. The fame (as is wont in such a case) did notably runne abroade of this matter. Some fauoured the cause, & some did disdaine it, but such as were rich, did reproue his pouertie and base estate to such as were neere about Alexãder, which

caused the King to send for him, and when hee had long beholdē his behauiour, said: your personage doth not disagree to the fame of your linage. But I desire to know with what pacience you did susteine your pouertie. I would to God (qd he) I could beare my prosperitie in like case now when I am a king. These hands did get that I desired, and hauing nothing, I lacked nothing. His words caused Alexāder to conceiue of him a maruellous opinion, so ẏ hee gaue vnto him not onely the riches, stuffe, and furniments appertaining to the King before, but also many thinges that were taken from the Persians, adding to his dominion all the countrey neere about the Citie. In ẏ meane season Amyntas with four thousand Greeks that escaped with him out of the fielde, fledd to Tripolis, where hee embarked, and sailed vnto Cyprus: thinking the world to bee such then, that euerie one might enioy that he could get, like as it had beene his owne inheritance. His purpose was to goe into Egipt, thinking there to become Enemie both to Darius and Alexander, and to waie with the world, according as ẏ time should alter. To bring therefore his souldiers to hope wel of his enterprise he declared how the gouernour of Egipt was slaine in the battell, and that the Persians left there in garrison were but a small number, of

little force, and without any head. He ſhewed how the Egyptians vſed to rebel againſt their gouernors, wherefore they were ſure to bee receiued as frends. For ſince neceſſity (qd he) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our firſt hope we muſt now thinke that things to come ſhall bee much better then our preſent eſtate. They all agreed with one voice, that he ſhould lead them where he liſt. Whereupon thinking good not to pretermit the occaſion whiles the hope was hot in their harts, conueied them into Egipt, & entred the hauen at Peluſium, vnder pretence that he had bin ſent thether by Darius. When he had gotten Peluſiũ, he ſet forwards towardes Memphis, at ỹ fame of whoſe comming the Egyptians being a light nacion & more apt to make a ſtur then to maintaine it when it is once begon, ran to him out of all townes and villages, with entent to deſtroy all the Perſians. But they notwithſtanding ỹ feare they were in, did not leaue ỹ defence of the countrey, but fought with the Greekes, and were put to flight. After that victory Amintas beſieged Memphis, and his men deſtroyed ſo al the countrey thereabouts, ỹ they left nothing vnſpoiled. Whereuppon Mazeches, though hee perceiued his ſouldiers much amazed with the feare of their late ouerthrow, yet when he ſaw his enemies

ſcatered

scatered abroad and without order, for ỹ pride they had conceiued of their victory: at length perswaded his men to issue out of the Citie, & in setting vpon their enemies, recouer againe that they had lost. Which aduise beeing good of it selfe, by good handeling tooke most fortunate successe. For they slew at time both Amyntas and all his company. This punishment he suffered for the offence commited to both Princes, being neither faithful to Alexander whom hee forsooke, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius Captaines which escaped from the battaile at Isson, gathering together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could leuie in Capadoce & Paphlagonia, did attempt to recouer againe the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexãder there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many souldiers out of the guarisons to send vnto Alexander: yet he so litle esteemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persiãs receiued there the like Fortune they did in other places: which attempting the fight in three sundrye Countries, were vanquished in them all. At ỹ same time ỹ name of ỹ Macedõs which Alexãder had sent for out of Greece, meeting Aristomenes (whõ Darius had appointed to make war vpõ ỹ coast of Helespõ)

tooke and drowned all his ships. Farnabasus, Darius admirall, hauing exacted money at Miletum, and set a guarison in Scio, passed into the Isle of Andros with a hundred ships. And from thence he went to Siphnus, and putting men of warre into all the Ilands, exacted of them money. The greatnes of the warre that was in hand betweene two of the most puissant princes of Asia and Europe, did drawe both Greece and Creete to armes. Agis the king of Lacedemon gathered together viii. thousand Greekes that were come home out of Cilicia, and mooued war to Antipater, that was gouernour of Macedō. The Cretians following sometime one parte, and sometime another, receiued one while guarison of Macedons, & another while of Lacedemonions, to lie amongst them. But those wars were of no great importance. For all mens eies were fixed vpon the warres that were in hye betweene Alexander and Darius, whereupon all the rest did depend. The Macedons had subdued all Siria and Phenices, Tire onely except, which being the greatest and most notable citie of all that countrey, shewed that they esteemed themselues worthie rather to ioine with Alexander as freends, then to become his subiects. For when hee was come neere vnto them, and encamped vpon the maine

land,

land, which is deuided from their cittie with a smal arme of the sea: They sent to him by their Embassadors a crowne of Gold for a present, with great plēty besides of victuals for his armie. He receiued their gifts, as frō his friends, & gaue gentle answers vnto the embassadors: but he shewed himself much desirous to make sacrifice vnto Hercules (whom the Tirians speciallie worshipped, and the Macedon kings supposed themselues to be discēded of him) being admonished therunto (as he said) by an Oracle. The embassadors made answer: ỳ there was a tēple of Hercules without their citie in the place which they call *Phaletiron*, where as he might do sacrifice at his pleasure. At those words Alex. could not refraine his yre, wherunto he was much subiect, but fell in a rage:

I perceiue now (quod he) because ye dwell in an Iland, ye trust so much in the situation of your cittie that ye despise my land power. But I will shortly do you to vnderstand, that ye dwel vpon the maine land, and bring you in such case, as your land shall not helpe you, and therefore trust to it, that if ye receiue me not in, I will enter by force.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this aunswere, such as were neare about the king, perswaded them that they should not exclude him, whom all Siria and Phenises had receiued. But they had conceiued such a confidence for that their Cittie stood in the Sea,

deuided

deuided lxxx. furlongs from the main land, that they vtterly determined to abide the ſiege. That Sea of theirs is much ſubiect to the ſouthweſt winde, which made at euery ſtorme the waues beate ſo high againſt the ſhoare, that it would not ſuffer the Macedõs to make any worke for the ioinƈting of the maine land to the citie: it being ſcarcely poſſible to worke anie thing there, when the weather was moſt calme. The firſt worke that the Macedons began, was by and by throwne downe with the vehemencie of the Seas that were driuen by the winde. Nor they could make no Mole ſo ſtrong within the ſea, but that it was waſhed away, and brought downe by beating of the waues. And when the winde blew ſtreinably, it would bring the ſeas cleane ouer the work. There was another difficultie no leſſe then this. For by reaſon that the walles were inuironed about with the deapnes of the ſea, they could raiſe no engine to ſhoot but a far of out of ſhips, nor there was not any ground about the citie, whereupon ladders mought haue bin raiſed againſt the wals, or approche made vnto them by land. Alexander had no ſhips, & though he had ſome, & would haue coueted to bring them to the walles, yet by reaſon of the vnſtablenes of the water, they might with ſhot eaſily haue bin kept of. But amongſt the

reſt

reſt of other things, the Tirians were wonderfully encouraged by the comming of the Embaſſadours ſent from Carthage, to celebrate a yeerely ſacrifice, according to their cuſtome. For the Tirians being the builders of Carthage, were ſince that time had in veneration of them as their parents & firſt founders. Thoſe Embaſſadours exhorted them in any wiſe to abide the ſiege, and promiſed them ſhortly aide, which they alleaged might eaſily and ſoone be done, forſomuch as that time all the Seas were full of the Carthage Fleetes. Upon this harting they determined to abide the extremitie, and placed their engines vpon the towers and the walles, deuiding their armour amongſt the youth of the cittie. The artificers, whereof the cittie had great plentie, were deuided into worke houſes to make all ſuch things as were neceſſarie for the warres. There were deuiſed certaine inſtrumentes wherewith they might pull downe the workes that their enemyes made, called Harpagons, and alſo Crowes of Iron named Corui, with all other things that might bee inuented for the defence of Citties. But a ſtraung thing is reported that when the Iron was put in the Forge, and blowne in the fyre, the ſame was ſeene to be ful of drops of bloud. Which woonder the Tirians did interprete

as

as a token of good fortune towards thẽſelues, and as a ſignification of deſtruction towardes their enemies. A like thing was ſeene among the Macedons. For when a certaine Souldier was breaking of his bread, drops of bloud appeared therein. Whereat Alexander being aſtonied, Ariſtander that was moſt cunning of all the diuiners of their religion, did interprete thus the matter. If the Bloud had appeared outwardlie, then it had ſignified euill fortune to the Macedons, but in as much as it was found within, it betokened deſtruction to the Citie they went about to get. Alexander conſidering his nauie to bee far from him, and that a long ſiege ſhould bee great impediment to his other affaires, ſent Officers of armes vnto the Citie to perſwade them vnto peace, whom the Tirians againſt the lawe of Nations did drowne in the ſea. Their vniuſt death ſturred Alexander ſo muche, that hee then vtterly determined to goe forwards with the ſiege. But before hee could make his approche, it was of neceſſitie for him to make a Pere or a Mole, whereby they might paſſe frõ the maine land to the citie. But in the making thereof there entred greate diſpaire into all mens heartes conſidering the deepnes of the Sea, which they ſaw not poſſible to be filled ſcarcelie by anie Diuine power. For they

thought

thought no stones so great, no Trees so high, nor anie countrie to haue such plentie as might suffice for ỳ building of a banke in such a place cõsidering the sea remained alwaies troubled. And the narrower the place was between the Citie and the land, so much more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the waie to allure his souldiers to what effect him pleased, declared how that Hercules appeared vnto him in his sleepe and gaue him his hand, proffering to be his captaine and his guide for the entrance of the Citie. Thereunto he added the killing of his Embassadours, wherby they had violated and broken the lawe that all nacions obserued, and that there remained but onelie one citie which staied his victorie. Thervpon he deuided the worke amongst his Captaines, that euerie one might applie his owne band, and so put the worke in vre, when he had once sufficientlie encouraged his men. There were great plentie of stones at hande of the mines of ỳ olde citie where Tire stood before, and for the making of boats and towers Timber was brought from the Mounte Libanus. The worke did grow from the bottome of the Sea like a mountaine, but not yet brought to the high water marke. And the further ỳ Pere was brought from the land vnto the seaward, so much the sooner the Sea did swalow vp the sub-

substance of thinges, whereof the same was made. Whiles ỹ Macedons were thus about their worke, the Tirians woulde come about them in small vessels, and geue them wordes of reproch and scorne: as they were now become goodly men of war, that would bee made pyoners, & carrie burdens like beastes vppon their backes. And they asked them also if they thought Alexander to bee greater then the God of the sea. But their reprooke did not hinder but encrease the chierfulnes of the souldiers in their paine and trauell. In so much the Mole in a short space surmounted aboue the water & encreasing much in bredth, approched neare vnto the citie. Then the Tirians seeing the hugenes of the work, in the increase whereof they sawe themselues disceiued, litle thinking that it would haue growen to such passe, in little vessels came rowing about the Pere, and did driue the souldiers with shot from their working, and because it lay in them to bring their Boats sodainly forwardes, and returne soone againe, they hurt many of the Macedons without any daunger to themselues, enforcing them to leaue their worke, and fall to their owne defence. For remedy whereof, and to auoid their enemies shotte, they were compelled to stretch out beastes skinnes vpon polles like sailes, and set those betweene them

and

and their Enemies. And besides at the head of the Pere, they raised vp two Towers from whence with shot and casting of Darts, they kept of the boats that came about them. On the other side the Tirians would land with their Boats far out of the sight of the campe, and kill suche as were carrying of Stones. The Peasantes besides of Arabie did set vppon certaine Macedons that were scattered abroad in the Mounte Libanus, where they slew & tooke diuers. That was one cause which moued Alexander, to deuide his Armie. And lest hee might seeme to remaine idly about the siege of one Citie, hee appointed Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the worke he had in hand, and went into Arabia with such part of his power meete apt for his purpose. In the mean season the Tyrians prepared a greate Ship laden with stones and grauell behinde, so that the forepart floted aboue the water, which ships annointed ouer with pitche and brimstone, they brought sodeinly by sayling and force of oares vnto the Pere, and there remaining, the Mariners set the ship on fire, and then leaped into the Boates which followed after for the purpose. The shippe thus set on fire so enflamed the wood-worke pertaining to the Pere, that before any rescue could come, ꝑ fire had taken

the

the towers of the Pere, and all the reſt of the works that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boats, ſaw the matter take ſuch effect, they put betwixt the timber and other voide places, both firebrands, & all ſuch things as might giue nouriſhment and encreaſe to the fire: ſo that the towers and all the reſt being on a flame, manie of the Macedons were conſumed therewith, and the reſt forſooke their armour and threw themſelues into the ſea. Then the Tirians that were more deſirous to take them on liue, to kill them with ſtaues & ſtones, did ſo beate them on the hands as they were ſwimming, that for wearineſſe they were glad to be taken vp into their boats. The whole worke was not conſumed with fire onely. For it chanſed alſo the ſame day a terrible Winde to riſe, which blowing out of the Sea, brought the waues with ſuch violence vpon the Mole, that with often beating of the Seas, the ioynts that knit the work together, began to loſe and leaue their hold. Then the Water that waſhed through, brake down the Mole in the middes, ſo ỹ the heapes of ſtones which were before ſuſteined by the timber and earth caſt betwixt them once broken a ſunder, the whole worke fell to ruine, and was caried away into the deep Sea. By that time Alexander was returned out of Arabie, & ſcarcely

found

founde any remaine or token, that any such worke had been. In that case (as it is euer vsed in things that chaunce euill) one laid the fault vpon another, when indeede the violence of the Sea was the cause of all. Alexander began to make the Pere againe after a newe sort, the head therof lying into the wether and the wind, and not the open side as it did before: So that the fore front alwaies defended the rest of the worke lying behind. He encreased also the bredth therof, to the intent the towers might bee builded in the middest of the Pere, whereby they should be least subiect to the Enemies shot. Whole trees were put into the Sea with their toppes and braunches, and after great stones throwne vpon them. And ouer those a new course of trees and stone againe, by which deuice this whole worke was ioyned and knit all in one. As the Macedons were busie to bring their worke forwards, so the Tirians were as diligēt to inuent all such things, as might giue impedimēt to their proceeding. Their cheefe practise was for a number of them to enter into the sea a farre of out of the Macedons sight, and so come dyuing vnder the water till they came vnto the Pere, where with hookes they would pull vnto them the braunches of the trees that appeared out of the stones, whereby the stones and the other

substance followed after into the deepe. For the trees being discharged of their burden were easily drawne away, and then the foundation fayling, the whole worke that stayed vpon the trees fell to ruine. Emongst these impediments Alexander stood in great perplexitie of minde, doubting whether he should continue the siege still, or els depart his way. When he was in this imagination, sodeinly his nauie ariued from Cyprus, and Cleander also with such souldiers as he had brought out of Greece. And hauing to the number of C. lxxx. ships, deuided them into two battels, whereof he committed the one vnto Pythagoras the king of Cyprus, and to Craterus, and tooke charge of the other himselfe, committing his owne person in a Galley called Cyquereme, which had fiue Oares on a banke. The Tirians durst not aduenture the sea fight although they had a great nauie, but set all their Galleys in a front before the walles of their cittie, which the king assailed and put to distresse. The next day the Macedons with their shippes enuironed the City round about, and did beate downe the walles, specially with such Engins as they call Arietes. But the Tirians streight way renforced and made vp their walles againe with stones that laye at hand, and raised vp an inward

wall

wall round about within the Citty, which might be their defence if the other fayled. But their destruction approched on euery side, the Mole was wrought within the cast of a dart, and the ships gaue the approach round about the walles, so that they were ouerlaid both by Sea and by land. The Macedons had deuised to ioyne their galleys two and two together, in such sort that the foreparts met close before, and the hinder parts lay farre of one from the other. And ouer the spaces remaining betwixt puppe and puppe, they made bridges with masts & maine yards laid betwixt Galey and Galey fast bound together to carry souldiours vpon. When they had put their Galleys in this order, they set forwards towards the Cittie. And hauing rampired the prores for defence of the souldiers that were behinde, they stood in their Galleys and did shoot and cast darts against their enimies without any perill or danger to themselues. It was midnight when they had commaundement to set forwards after the manner. As the ships were approching on al parts and the Tirians stood astonied for feare and desperation: sodainly the Sky was ouerwhelmed with dimme clowdes, and sodaine darknes tooke away the light. Then the Sea by little and lyttle waxed terrible and rough.

the winde blewe raysing vp the waues, and did beate the ships one against another: the violence whereof burst a sunder the bands and graspers wherewith the galyes were fastned togethers. Which done the bridges crashed & flew a sunder, and with the Souldiers that stood vpon them fell into the sea. There was great confusion, for the ships entangled thus together, could by no meanes be gouerned in such a tempest, the Souldiers disturbing the feate of the mariners, and the mariners giuing impediment to the office of the Souldiers. Thus (as it doth often happen in such case) the expert were obedient to the ignorant, for the ship maisters that were woont to commaund: then for feare of death were directed by other: But at length by force of rowing the Galeys recouered the shore, the more part of them being broken and torne. It chaunsed at the same time xxx. Embassadours to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then assistaunce to them that were besieged. For they shewed how the Carthagens were so assailed with warre at their owne doores, that they could by no meanes send them succour. In so much as the Syracusans were burning in Aphrike, and had encamped themselues vnder the very walles of Carthage. The Tyrians yet were not discomfited, for all that they

were

were disapointed of their speciall trust, but deliuered vnto those Embassadours their wiues and their children to carrie vnto Carthage, thinking to endure more stoutly the siege, if the things which were most deare vnto them were remooued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian which in an open assembly declared that Appollo (whom the Tyrians greatly doe worship) had appeared to him in his sleep, seeming to him that he had forsaken the Cittie, and transformed the Mole that the Macedons had made into a great wood. Herevpon though the author were of small credit, yet forasmuch as men in feare be apt to beleeue the worste, they tyed Apollos Image with a Golden cheine, and bound fast alls the aulter of Hercules (to whom the Citie was dedicat) thinking by deteining of the one, to keepe still the other. The Carthagens in times past had brought that Image from Siracuse, and had placed it in the head Cittie, out of the which they were descended. For theyr custome was to adorne Tyre with such spoiles as they had taken, no lesse then they did Carthage it selfe. They at that time would also haue beene authors vnto the Tyrians for the renuing of an old sacrifice that had bin omitted many years, wherein they vsed to offer vp to Saturne a free borne child. Which being rather a sacri-

ledge then a sacrifice, the Carthagens receiued of their first founders, and still obserued the same, till their Cittie was destroyed. And but the ancient men by whom althings were gouerned had withstand it, this wicked superstition had taken place, which nature & humanitie dooth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer their heads, being more effectuall then any arte or science, practised not only such things as were accustomed for defences, but also found out that was neuer inuēted before. For to the disturbance of the ships that approched the walles, they deuised long rafters, to the which they fastned graspies of Iron and great hookes like Sithes, which letten downe with ropes by an Engine, either tare ships or destroyed the men. They inuented also Targets of mettall to be made fyre hote, in the which they put burning sand, and scalding lime, and then poured the same down vpon the Macedons that came neare the wals, being a mischiefe that they feared most of all other. For when the whote sand entred betweene the harneis and the body, there was no meanes to auoide it away: and where it touched it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throw away their harneys, and teare away all things they had vpon their bodies. Therby they became subiect to

be

be hurt by their enemies, and were not in case to endomage them againe. But specially the grasplers letten downe (called Corui) tooke violently away many of the Souldiers that were within the ships. Alexander seeing the obstinate defence of the Tirians, was weary of the matter, & determined to raise his siege, and go vnto Egypt. For considering in how short a space he had subdued Asia, it grecued him to be deteined so long about the walles of one Citty, whereby he omitted the occasion and opportunitie of greater things in the meane season. But he was as much ashamed to depart without his purpose, as to remain there and leaue other things vndoone: iudging that if he should leaue Tyre after that sort as a witnesse that he might be withstand, it should much impaire his fame, wherwith he had gotten more then with force. And it chanced at the same time, a mõster of an exceeding bignes to apeare, aswel in the sight of the Tirians as the Macedons, which lying vpon his back aboue the water came towards the mole, and when he had lifted vp himselfe at the head of the Mole, diued vnder the water againe, sometime appearing aboue and sometime hyding himselfe vnderneath, when he came neare the walles of the Citti vanished out of sight. The sighte of this monster reioysed both

parties, the Macedons enterpreting the same to be sent them as a guide for their direction, to furnish out the worke, and the Tyrians diuining that Neptune in reuenging the vsurpation that the Macedons had made vpon the Sea would shortlye destroy the worke that they had made, in such like sort as he had taken away the monstre. They vpon their owne imagination, conceiued such a gladnesse, and prognosticated to themselues such good fortune, that they fell to banqueting and drinking. And when they weare well charged with wine, at the sunne rising they set Garlands of flowers vpon their heads, and mounted into Galleis, not onely with hope of victorie, but with a triumphe made before hand. It chanced at the same time that Alexander had conueyed his nauie to the contrarie side of the Citie, & left vpon the shore thirtie of the smallest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught two, and put the rest in danger of distressing, vntil such time as the King hearing ỳ alarme, set forwards with his nauie towards that part were the skry was heard. The first Galley of the Macedons that came neere them was a quinquereme, the swiftest of all the rest, which when the Tyrians espied, they came against her with 2. Galleis dresse vpon her side: whereof the one strake full with her Spurne, with whom

whom the cynquereme graſpeled and the other which was looſe and libertie fell vpon her contrarie ſide. But leſt betweene them two ſhe might ſuſteine ſome domage, one of Alexāders Tryremes came to the reſcue with ſuch violence, that the maſter of the loſe Galley was ſtriken into the ſea. When the Tyrians ſaw that Alexander was come himſelfe, & more of his ſhips at hand, then with ſtrength of ores and great difficulty, they ſet their Galley that was entangled, loſe againe and at liberty, making towards their hauen with all the haſt they might. Alexander immediatly purſued them, but when he came to the hauen he could not enter, but was beaten of with ſhot from the walles, yet he did take & drowne the more part of their Galleys. After this aduenture he reſted his ſouldiers two daies, and then willed his ſhips to be brought forwards & the engines in them, to the intent that by aſſailing the Tirians on all ſides, he might put thē in extreame feare. Alexāder with a wonderful courage not without great peril of his perſō mounted vp into the top of a tower that was made in a ſhip, & there knowne by his apparel and rich armor, was chiefly laid at, and ſhot to from all parts. He wrought wonderfull feates with his own perſon, for both with his pike he ſlew diuers that ſtood at deſēce, & afterwards

fought

fought hande to hande with his Sworde and Target, throwing diuers downe from their defence, for the Tower wherein he fought ioyned hard to the walles. By that time the Engins called *Arietes* with much beating had striken downe the Walles, the nauie was got within the Hauen, and certain of the Macedons had won the Towers. The Tyrians then oppressed with so many miseries at once were clean discomfited: some fled for succour vnto the temples, some did shut their doars, taking that kind of death they liked best. And other ran vpon their enemies to sel their liues deere. But the more part got vp into the tops of their houses, & from thence did cast downe vppon their enemies whatsoeuer came vnto their hands. Alexander commaunded all to be slain without exception, sauing such as fled into the temples, & willed the houses to be set on fier. Though þ were proclaimed through the citie, yet there was none bearing armour that would saue themselues that way: for as þ women and children filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, ready to abide þ cruelty of their enemies. Yet the Sidonians were the occasiõ that many were saued, who seruing in the warres against þ Macedons, and entring the Citty with the rest, were mindfull of their affinity with the Tirians

ans (Agenor being builder of both their Cities) & conueyed many into their ships, which they sent priuily vnto Sidon. By ꝑ meanes fifteen thousand escaped the cruelty of ꝑ sworde. The number of them that were slaine may partly be coniectured, in ꝑ there were founde dead within the Citye fyue thousand of such as bare armour. The kings wrath towards the City made the sight dolorous vnto the victorers. For two thousand whom the fury of the slaughter had left aliue were afterwards hanged vpon crosses along ꝑ sea coast. The Embassadors of the Carthagens were saued, but they thretned to make war against them, from the which he was then letted by other busines he had in hand. Thus Tyre was taken the 7. moneth after it was besieged, a Citye notable to the posteritie, as well through the antiquity it was of, as also by ꝑ often change of Fortune that it had suffered. It was builded by Agenor & many yeares was maister of ꝑ seas not only neer ther about, but in al places whir as their nauies came: & if we list to credit the fame, ꝑ City was the first which either taught or learned letters. They builded Cities & put in thē inhabiters throughout ꝑ more parts of ꝑ world, both Carthago in Africk, Thebes in Boetia, & Gades in Spain vpon ꝑ Occā. It is to be thought that by reason of their frecourse

through

throughe all seas, and by visiting many strange Countries, they had occasion to choose out Seates to place in their youth, whereof they then habounded. Or else as some write the inhabitours werted to dwell there by reason of many earthquakes, were compelled of force to seeke out strange dwelling places. But after manie casualties that happened vnto Tyre, after the destruction newlye renuewed, and all things growen againe throughe long peace remaineth now vnder ỹ defence of the Romains clemency. About the same time Alexander receiued letters from Darius, wherein at last he was contented to name him King.

His requeſt was that Alexander would receiue his daughter Sapteyne for his wife, with whom he offered in dower all the Countrey betweene Helleſpont and the riuer of Alys, and woulde reſerue vnto himſelfe onely ſuch kingdomes as lay from thence, Eaſt vard. And if peraduenture he ſhould ſticke to receiue this offer, he willed him to conſider that fortune is not wont to continue longe in one eſtate, and that the greater felicity men haue, the greater enuie doth follow them. It was to bee doubted (hee ſayd) leaſt hee exalted himſelfe thorough ſome vayne and childiſhe affection, lyke as byrdes vſe to doe, whoſe naturall lightnes conuey them to the Starres. For there was nothing more difficult in ſo yong yeares, then to beare well ſuch height and greatnes of Fortune. Hee willed hym alſo to conſider, that there remained yet manye countries that hee had not touched, and that he ſhould not alwaies meete him in ſtreights, hauing

to

to passe the Riuer of Euphrates, Tygre, Araxes, & Hydaspes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his Dominion, and when he should come vnto the plains he should bee ashamed of his small number. Hee put him in remembrance to wey how long it should bee or hee could passe Medea Hircania, Bactria, & the Indians that bordered on the Ocean Sea. And likewise the Sogdians and Arachosians of whom men haue none other knowledge then of their name, with other Nacions lyinge towardes the mount Caucasus, & the riuer of Tanais. Though no man shoulde let him nor offer him battaile, yet hee should grow in age (hee said) before he could passe so many lands. In the latter end hee aduysed him to call hym no more forwards, for hee woulde come soone ynough, and that to his destruction.

## Alexander made answer to those Letters by the messengers that brought them, in effect.

That Darius offered to him that was none of his owne, and made a proffer to geue that hee had all ready lost. For Lydia, Ionia, Aeolides, & the coast of Helespont, which he appointed in dower, were all ready become the rewardes of his victory. And as for lawes and condicions, those were wonte to be geuen and appointed by the Victours, and receiued of such as were ouercome. And if hee were ignorant in which of those two estates he were in, that hee should come of, and aduenture the battaile once agayne. For he was not ignorant (hee said) before hee passed the Sea how Lydia and Cilicia were ouer small rewardes for the making of such a warre. But his determinacion was euer to subdue & bring vnder his subiection, both Percepolis the chiefe citie of his kingdome, and also Bactria, and Echatania with the vttermost bounds of the Orient. He could flie no where but he was able

able to follow: and therefore counſelled him that he ſhould leaue to feare him with Riuers, which had learned how to paſſe Seas.

Thus the Kings did write one to another: and in the meane ſeaſon the Rhodians yelded their citie and their hauen vnto Alexander, who committed the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the Countrey about Tyre vnto Philotas. Andromachus was made Parmenio his Deputy in Caele, Syria, from Alexander minding to ſet forwards to the reſt of his iourney, commaunded Epheſtion that with his naule he ſhould ſaile along the Coaſt of Phenices, and ſo hee came with his whole power to the City of Gaza. About the ſame time there were ſolempne triumphs & plaies at Iſthmos, accuſtomed, to bee celebrated with the aſſembly of all Greece. In the counſel (as the wits of the Greeks be ſodain) they decreed to ſēd 12. embaſſadors vnto Alexāder for the carying vnto him a Crowne of golde, in gratifying the victory hee had won, and the actes he had done for the ſaufgard and liberties of Greece, and yet a little before they harkened how the ſame went, and were readie to bend that way that fortune enclined. Alexander viſited not in perſon all ſuch countries and cities as refuſed to do their obedience vnto him, but made conqueſte of them by his depu-

deputies. For Cales tooke Paphlagonia, Antigonus Liconia, & Balachrus ouercame Idarne Darius lieutenant, and wan Miletū. Amphitous and Egilochus with a nauy of a 160. ships subdued all the Ilandes betweene Asia and Achaia. And also by the consent of the inhabiters got Tenedon, which alwaies was acceptable to the Persians. They were at the point to haue gotten Scio, but þ Pharnabasus Dariusdeputie hauing intelligence of the matter, did first apprehend all such as were of the Macedons faction, and committed the Cittie with a small garrison ro Appolodines, and Athenagoras that were enclined to the Persians. Alexanders captains for all this continued the siege of the citie stil, not so much in trust of their own strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Cittie. In which pointe they were not deceiued. For through a sedicion which did arise betweene Appollonides and the Captains of the men of Warre, occasion was ministred vnto the Macedōs to enter the towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entred, thē the Citizens which before had deuised to rebell against the Persians, tooke parte with Amphiterus & Egilocus, so that the garrison of the Persians were slaine & Pharnabasus with Appollonides & Anthenagoras

goras

goras taken prisoners. There were xii. Galleis taken with their souldiours and rowers, besides xxx. ships and vessels of Pirats, with three thousand Greekes that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Greekes furnished vp their owne bands and put the Pirats to death, bestowing the rowers in their owne galleys. It chaunced that Aristonicus the vsurper of Bethyna, ignorant of any such matter as was chaunced in the forepart of the night, came with certaine Pirats ships to enter into the hauen, whom when the watch demanded what he was, he said he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabasus. They answered he was at rest and could not then be spoken withal, but it should be lawful for him (they said) being their friend to enter into the hauen for that night, & speake with him when it was day. Aristonicus was the first that entered, and the Pirates followed him. But whiles they placed their ships, the watchmen drew the chaine againe ouer the hauen, & then called vp such as lay there neere about, so that none of them durst resist, but were all taken prisoners, and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilocus. From thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene, which was kept by Chares of Athens, with a guarrison of two thousand Persians: but when he was not

able

able to endure the siege, he yeelded vp the Citie with composition to haue their liues saued and to depart in sauegard vnto Imbros. Darius dispayring of peace which he had procured both by his letters, and Embassadoures, gaue his mind to assemble a new power, and freshly to renue the warre. Therfore he commaunded the Captains and rulers of his men to assemble at Babilon, & that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, should come thither with all power he could make. The Bactrians be the most hardiest people amongst those nations, vnciuill men, and much abhorring from the delicatnes of the Persians. For by reason that the border vpon they Scithians, which be a warlike Nation, they are accustomed to liue by theft, and be conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspect of treason that he would not bee content with the second place, put Darius in great doubt. Who hauing an inkling that he aspired to be King, feared only his treason, hauing no other way to bring his purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the waies hee coulde to obteine knowledge where Darius was become, and in to what countrey he was gone. And yet could not get any intelligence by reason of a custom amongst the Persians, which are wont with amaruellous fidelitie to keep close their prin-

ces secretes, in the vttering whereof neither feare of death nor hope of rewarde can cause them bring foorth a word. This was a goodly discipline that the Kings there had of old time vsed amongst their subiects, in punishing with losse of life the lauishnes of the Toung, which is there more grecuously chastised then any other crime. Nor ther is not in those parts any goodnes loked for at any mans hands, ꝑ hath not the gift of secretnes, wherof nature hath geuen a facility in man. This was the cause ꝑ Alexãder, was ignorant of all thinges ꝑ his enemies did, & therfore cõtinued his siege before Gaza: Betis was captain there, who was a mã of a notable fidelity towards his prince, which with a smal garrison defended the City ꝑ was of a large compas: wherfore Alexander perceiuing the aduantage of the situation set many mines in hand. For the lightnes of the ground made the worke easie, hauing neither rocks nor stones to giue any impediment. They began their mines on ꝑ side, wher they vvin could not destroy thẽ: & to auoid ꝑ suspectiõ of any such work in hãd, caused an approch to be made to ꝑ walles with towers ꝑ hee had made of timber: but ꝑ ground would not serue for their carrying and remouing, by reason of the loosenes of the sand, whereinto the wheels sanke, & was the cause that the ioyntes of the

towers

towers brake a sunder. About the conueiãce of them many were hurt, and as much trouble they had in withdrawing of them, as in setting them forwards. When he perceiued hee could not preuaile by that means, he retired againe his men for that time. But the next day he enuironed the Citie rounde about to geue the assault in euery part at once, and before he returned out of his campe, made sacrifice after his countrey manner, requiring the aid of the Goddes. It chaunced as he was so doing, that a Rauen flying by let fall a clodde (which she carryed in her clawes) vppon the Kinges head, where it brake and resolued in pieces: & the Rauen flew vnto the next tower where her fethers were so entangled with Pitch at her lighting that she could not flye away, but was taken of the standers thereabouts. This was thought a matter worthy whereuppon the Diuiners should consult. For he himselfe was not free from the superstition of such tyinges. Therefore Aristander to whom hee gaue most credit, did interpret the same to bee a signe of the destruction of that City, but yet there was some perill (he said) appearing towards the Kings person: for which cause hee perswaded Alexãder þ he should not goe about any enterprise þ day. Though it greeued him much that one City shculd be a stay and

impediment vnto him for his free paage into Egypt, yet he obeyed the prognoſticators and cauſed all his men to retyre. The Enemies tooke courage of their departure thinkinge feare to haue beene the cauſe why they came not forwards, ſailed out of the citye and ſette vpon their taile. But they were more fierce in the beginning of the ſkirmiſh, then conſtant in the maintaining of the ſame. For when they ſaw the Macedonians turne about, they ſtayed & purſued no further. Alexãder hearing the alarme, and remembring nothing the peril that was prophecyed vnto hym, at his friendes requeſt put on his Harneis (which hee was ſeldome accuſtomed to doe) and reſorted thether where the ſkirmiſh was moſt hot. There he was knowen by a certaine Arabian that was one of Darius Souldiers, which tooke vpon him a deſperat enterpriſe to kill Alexander, and therefore making his pretence to bee as a fugitiue from the Perſians, kept his ſword ſecret vnderneath his target, and fell downe on his knees before him. Who iudging that hee had fled to him for ſuccour, willed him to bee receiued among his owne men. But the Arabian therewithall ſtrake at the King with his ſworde, which he by a litle ſtepping aſide, auoided from his throte, and cut of the Arabians hand that miſſed o this ſtroke. Alexãder

then

then iudged that he had cleane escaped the perill that should haue chaunced to him that day, but (as I thinke) destiny can not be auoyded: for whiles hee was eger to fight amongest the formost, he was striken with an arrow, which passed through his Corslet, and did sticke in his shoulder. Philip his Phisition did pluck it out, and great aboundance of bloud did folow, whereof euery man was afraid, for so muche as they neuer sawe an Arrowe passe so farre through any armour before. But hee neuer changed countenance nor colour, but causing the bloud to be stanched, and his wound to be wrapt vp, continued still in the Skirmish amongest the formost, either suffering or dissembling his paine and dolour. But when the bloud that was stayed for the time hast out againe, and the wound which for the newnes greeued him not much, began to swel and rācle as the bloud waxed could, then hee began to faint and fall downe, and was taken vp by such as were nexte him, and carried into his Tent. Betis that perceiued this, supposing him to be slaine, retired vnto the Citie againe with great ioy and triumph: but Alexanders wound being yet vnhealed, he caused a mount to bee cast vp as high as the top of the walles, and the walles to be cast downe in diuers places by the myners. But they within made a

countermure as high as the old wall: yet that could not stretch to the height of the towers made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes of the Citty were subiect to shot. But a mine wherat the wall was ouerthrowen, & a breach made wherewith the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of the towne where as Alexander pressing on amongst the foremost aduenturously, had his leg hurt with a stone. That notwithstanding, hee mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wound yet closed) and fought amongest the foremost, being in a great fury, that in the siege of that one Citie, he had receiued two wounds. Betis that had fought notably, and receiued diuers hurts, was forsaken of his owne men, & yet notwithstanding maintained still the fight, and all his armoure imbrued with his own bloud and his enemies. But when he was enclosed round about, then Alexander which was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, said vnto him: Betis thou shalt not die as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatsoeuer torments may be inuented, thinke ỳ thou shalt suffer them. For all his words their appeared in Betis no token of feare, but beholde the King with an arrogant countenance, and would not answer him one word: then Alexander said: see you not how obstinate he is to

hold

hold his peace: he would not kneele, nor once desire mercy. But groning shall breake his silence, if nothing else can do it. Thus his fortune altering his nature, chaunged him into straunge maners, and turned his wrath into woodnes. For hee causing cordes to bee put through Betis feete whilest hee was aliue did draw him about the city with horses, glorying in that he did counterfait Achilles (of whom he was descended) in afflicting of his enemy. There were slaine of the Persians & Arabiãs 10000. & the victory was not vnbloudie to the Macedons. This siege was not so famous through the nobillity of the citie, as it was by the double dãger the K. was in: which making hast to passe into Egipt, sent Amintas with ten Gallies into Macedon to leuie more souldiours. For though he were alwayes victorer in prosperous battails, yet his men were diminished, and he trusted not so much to ỹ souldiers of those countries he had subdued, as he did to his own naciõ. Egiptians be a people ỹ alwaies were offended with ỹ increase of good fortune of Persians, who in their gouernement ouer them, vsed much pride and couetousnes. And therfore seeking all occasions to reuolt, had receiued Amintas which came to thẽ rather by way of treaty then by any force: and nowe specially at Alexandes comming

plucked vp their spirits and assembled a great number to meet him at Pelusium, where they iudged he would enter. The seuenth day he remooued from Gaza, hee came to that place in Egypt, which nowe is called Alexanders campe, from whence he sent his Armie vnto Pelusium by the lande way, and he himselfe with a choyse band of men was conueyed thither vppon the riuer of Nile. The Persians durst not abide his comming, beeing in doubt that the Egyptians would reuolt. And therefore whē Alexander drew neere vnto Memphis, where Astaces Darius lieutenant was with a power of men of warre, he came ouer the riuer to meet Alexander, and yelded himselfe, deliuered him eight hundred Talentes, with all the riches belonging to the Kinge of Persie From Memphis he passed vppon the same riuer vnto the inward partes of Egypt, and set a stay and ordering the gouerment of the Countrey in such sort, that hee chaunged nothing of their lawes and customs. Which thing once brought to passe, he had a great desire to visit the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon. But it was declared vnto him that the way he had to goe was not possible with anye greate number, and that those ought to be trimmed, meete to iourney without baggage or much tariage. The cōtrey he had to trauel through

was

was said to be spred ouer all with barren sand. which once put in an heate with the Sunne. would burne their feet in such sort, ẏ it shoud be intollerable for them to iourney. And had to content not onely with the heat and want of water, but also with the rowling sande, which was so deepe, and would so sincke vnder their feete, that it should be great impediment vnto their trauell. All which difficulties the Egiptiãs set forth to be greater then they were in deed. But Alexander for the desire he had to exceede mans estate, was so feruently bent to visit that famous Oracle of Iupiter, whether he beleued, or coueted that other shoud beleeue to be his Father, that nothing could staye him in performing of that enterprise. Therfore with such as he had appointed to accompany him in the iourney, passed by water vpon Nile till he came to the Meare of Meotes. The Embassadours of the Cirenians came to him thither & brought him presents, whom he gently entertained, assuring them of his frendship: and that done went forwardes in his voyage. The first and the second daies trauell seemed tollerable, not being yet come to the barreyn and wild wildernes, and yet the ground they passed on was but vnfruteful and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared that were coucred ouer with deepe sand, they

then looked & ſought a far off with their eies for the land, euen as men be accuſtomed to do when the ſaile into the main ſea: for they could not iudge themſelues on land, where they neuer ſaw tree nor any appearance of habitation or haunt of men. And water ther was none to be found in that drie & burning ſand, & ſuch as they had brought with them in bottels vppon camels backes, was conſumed and ſpent. Beſides the Sunne was ſo hot that it dryed and burned vp all things. When they were afflicted after this maner, whether it were by the will of God or by chance, the clowdes ſodenly ouerwhelmed the ſkye, and ſo ſhadowed them that it was great cõfort to ſuch as were forwearied with the heate, though they wanted water to drinke. But to ſupply their lacke therin there fell by & by a great ſhowre which euery man (for the great deſire they had to drinke) gaped to receiue with open Mouth: when they had trauelled 4. daies in paſſing of theſe wild deſerts, and were come neere vnto the place of the oracle, there appeared a great ſwarme of crowes flying low before the troup and when the hoaſt marched ſoftly, they ſate downe vpon the ground, and ſometime flewe forwards, as they had been guydes to ſhew vnto the army the way. At length they came vnto the place conſecrat vnto Iupiter, where

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as it was a wōder to see in the midst of so wild a desart such a grōnd so enuironed on al parts with high trees, defending the heat of ꝑ sun, & such a number of spryngs rūning euery wher: which cause the woods alwaies to look green The aire there all seasons of the yeare is like vnto the spring time, holesome and temperat to liue in. This countrey doth boyder with the Ethiopes towards ꝑ East & vpon ꝑ Arabies that they call Troglodites vpon the South: whose countrey stretched to the red sea. It confineth with other Ethiopes that he called Simnos. Towards the North lyeth a nacion called Nasamons, who inhabiting vppon a flat shore, be accustomed to liue on spoiles of the Sea, and ly alwaies in a waite vppon the coast to spoile such ships as suffer wracke: the people which inhabit about the wood, be called Ammonians, and dwell in cotages scattered abroad. The middest of their wood closed about with a triple wall, is vnto them as a castle. In the first ward is the Pallace of their auncient kinges, in the second their wiues, Children & concubines were lodged, in which place the Oracle of Iupiter is also. And the third is appointed a place for the men of war. Ther is also another wood hauing in ꝑ midst a spryng called the Fountaine of the Sun wch in the Morninge is luke warme, in the heate

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of the day it is cold, and in the euening warme againe: so that at midnight it is scalding hot, and as it draweth towards day it diminisheth his heat more and more. The same thing that is worshipped for Iupiter, hath not the similitude of other Images ỳ craftes men do make for goddes, but is very like vnto the fashion of a nauel, hauing in the midst an Emeraud set about with pearles. Whē any answer is required, the Priests cary the same in a ship of gold that hath many plates of siluer hāging on both sides. The matrons and the Virgins follow after singing a rude song after their countrey maner, whereby they beleeue to obteine of Iupiter to shew his Oracle manifest and true. When Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldest of the Priestes which came to meet him saluted him by the name of Iupiters son: for so (he said) his mind was that he should be called. Whereuppon Alexander forgetting the state of his mortality, said: that hee both did receiue and acknowledge the name. Then he demaunded further, if the Empire of the whole world were appointed him by destinie. There the Prophet prepared before to flattery, answered: ỳ the whole world should come vnder his obeisance. And after that he demaūded whether all suche had suffered death that murthered his father. The Priest answered

that

that his father could not be harmed by the treason of any man, but he said that all Phillips killers were put to death. And one thing hee added more: that he should bee invincible till such time as he should depart to the goddes. Thereupon Alexander made sacrifice, and both offered vnto the Idol, and gaue great gifts vnto the Priestes. He licensed also his frends that they may consult of the Oracle, for such things as they would demaund. Yet they enquired no further: if it were Iupiter his will, that they should worship their King with diuers honours. To them it was answered: that if they honoured their Prince being victorer as a God, it should be acceptable vnto Iupiter. If he had with iudgement waied the Oracle according to the verity, hee should haue well perceiued the vntruth, that was therein: but whom fortune hath brought to beleeue in her, she maketh them many times more desirous of glory, then able to receiue it. Alexander not onely suffered, but also commaunded himselfe to be called the sonne of Iupiter: and whilest hee went about to encrease the fame of his acts, he did corrupt and deface them through such vaine titles. Whereby the Macedons accustomed to be gouerned by Kings, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of liberty then other Nations, did withstand him

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more arrogantly in affecting of his immortality, then was either expedient for him or thē: but these things shalbe declared in time conuenient: For now I will proceede in the rest of his dooing. When Alexander was returned from Hammon, and come to the marish of Mareotes, situate neare vnto the Isle of Pharos, viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to build a Cittie within the Island. But afterwards considering the Isle not to be large inough, chose out the ground where Alexandria is now (called by the name of the builder) conteining al that ground betweene the Meare and the sea, the which was in compasse as the walles went lxx. furlongs. When he had taken order for building of this Cittie, leuing such behind him as he had appointed for the performāce therof departed vnto Memphis. He had a desire (not vnreasonable if it had bin in time cōuenient) to haue visited both ỹ inward parts of Egipt, & also Ethiopia. And ỹ affectiō he had to view antiquities & the famous places of Memnon & Tyton, had neere drawen him beyonde the bounds of the Sun. But the wars hee had in hand beeing of much more moment then any such idle peregrination, gaue him no time to fulfil his fātasy: therfore he appointed Aestilus a Rodian, & Peucestes a Macedon to the gouer-

gouernãce of Egipt, assigning to them 4000. souldiers for defẽce of the religiõ, & gaue Polymen 30. galleis to kepe the mouth of Nile. Hee made Apollonius ruler of that part of Africke, which ioyneth vnto Egypt, and Cleomines receiuer of the tributes in both countries. This new Citie was soone replenished with a great multitude, for commaundement was geuen to all the Cities thereaboutes, to send inhabiters vnto Alexãdria. It is said that when the King according to the Macedons custome vsed the ceremony of steeping Barly at the making of the walles, that the birds came and fed thereuppon: which being taken of many for an vnlucky token, it was answered by their Diuiners, that there should bee great resort of strangers in the citie, and that it should geue nourishment to many lands. As the King went downe the Riuer of Nile, Hector Parmenio his Sonne desirous to followe him, was drowned: for the Vessell sunke that carried him, beeing pestered with ouer many men: he striued long wᵗʰ the stream, but his garmentes gaue impediment to his swimming, so that his breath was neer gone before he could recouer ẏ shore, where for wãt of succour he died. Whose vnfortunat chance Alexãder took greeuously, as one ẏ did bear him special fauour, & therefore caused his bo-

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dy to be honourably buried. The death of Andromachus lieutenant of Sirio, whom the Samaritans had burned, was encreaſe of Alexanders ſorrow, for the reuẽgement wherof he made all the haſt he might, and at his comming into Samaria, had the authors of the act deliuered into his hands, whom he put to death, and then placed Memnon in Andromachus rowme. He deliuered into the Bethulians hands, Ariſtonicus, and Criſolaus, that had vſurped amongeſt them, whom they after many greeuous torments did hang ouer their walles. That done he gaue audiẽce to the Embaſſadours of the Athenians, the Rhodians and the Sciotes. The Athenians did gratify vnto him his victory, and required that ſuch Greeks as were taken Priſoners, might be reſtored to liberty, The Rhodians and the Sciotes demaunded aſſiſtãce of ſome garriſon: he graunted to them all their requeſtes, and reſtoring to the Mitelens al their pledges, encreaſed their territory and Dominion in reſpect of the fidelity they ſhewed vnto him, and the money they had employed in the warres. Hee gaue honour alſo according to their deſeruings vnto the Kings of Cipres which reuolted from Darius vnto him, & had aided him with ſhippes at the ſiege of Tyre. Amphoterus his Admiral had commiſſion to

driue

driue the Persians out of the Ile of Creete, but specially that he should rid the seas of the Pirats, which troubled and spoyled all the Ilands, whilest these two Princes conuerted their powers one against another. When hee had geuen order to all thinges, he did dedicate to Hercules at Tyre, a great standing peece and thirtie bowles of golde. That done hee set his whole minde and care vppon Darius, causing it to be proclaimed that euery man should set forwards towards Euphrates. But Darius vnderstanding that his enemy was gone through Egypt into Aphrick, stoode in doubt whether he should stay about Mesopotamia, or withdraw into the inward parts of his kingdome: iudging that he should be able to worke with those farre nacions in bringing of them forwardes to the warres, that his lieutenant should not be able to doo. Yet when the fame had published, and hee vnderstood by assured aduertisement that Alexander was returned out of Egypt: and fully resolued to followe him with al his power into what countrey soeuer he should goe: he then gaue order that the force of all the far Nations should draw towards Babilon, knowing the stoutnes of his enemie he had to match withall. Thether resorted both Bactrians, Scithians, and Indians: for the power of other Countries were

come thither before. And hauinge the double number of men that hee had before in Cilicia, prepared armour for them with diligence, whereof many of them had want. Both the horsemen and horses were armed with plates of Steele. Such as before had no weapons but darts, had swords and bucklers geuen to them more. And to increase the power of his horsemen, he deliuered many horses to be broken amongst the footmen. He had prepared also 200 wagons set with hooks, which in those Countries were esteemed thinges of great force, and iudged to bee of a wonderfull terrour to the enemy: they were made with great long pikes sticking out before, and with swordes set ouerthwart on both sides. The Wheeles were also full of Iron pikes right forth, and of great hookes both vpward and downward wherewith al thing was cut a sunder that came in their waye. When his people was thus furnished of armour, and had prouided sufficiently for the warres, hee remooued from Babilon, & keping the Riuer of Tygre on his right hand, and Euphrates on his left hand, ouerspred with his army all the plaines of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tigre, and vnderstanding that his enemy was comming at hand, first sent Satropaces before w a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwards ap poyn-

appointed 6000. to Mazeus to stop Alexander the passage of the riuer. Who had also in commission to wast and burne all the countrey where he iudged that his enemies should come, thinking to famish them for wãt of victuals, considering that they had no other prouision but such as they got by rauin, and by stealth: they thẽselues hauing plentie brought both by lande and by the riuer of Tygre. At length hee came to a Village called Arbella, which was afterwardes famous by reason of his ouerthrow. There he left the chiefe furniture of his victualles, and carriage, and made a bridge ouer the River of Licus, and in fiue daies conueyed ouer his army, as he had done before ouer Euphrates: passing forwards frõ thence about fower score furlonges: hee came to another River called Bumello, and there encamped. The countrey serued wonderfull well for the arranging of his battails in the large plaines, passable for horses euery where and without stubbes, or short brushe to couer the grounde withall hauinge so free a prospecte, that the Eye might discerne thinges a great waye off. And if there appeared any hylles within the plaine, Darius caused the same to be cast downe, and the ground to be made smooth. Such as by coniecture made report to Alexander of Darius power

could not be credited, for hee could not thinke after so many slaine there could bee a greater power gathered together then hee had before. But hee that neuer doubted any perill, and much lesse the multitude of men, after the eleuenth encamping, came to the Riuer of Euphrates, ouer the which he made bridges, passing ouer his horsemen, and afterwardes his footmen. For Mazeus that was sent against him with fiue thousand horsmen to let his passage durst not encounter with him. When he had continued there a few daies, not onely to rest his Souldiers, but also to confirme their mindes, and to encourage them, hee set forwards stoutly against his enemie, fearing ỳ they would haue retired back into the inward parts of Persie, whither he should haue been enforced to follow by wast places & desertes. Therefore the fourth day he passed by Arbella, and came to the Riuer of Tygre. All the countrey beyond the riuer was on a Smoake newly set on fire by Mazeus, who burned all thinges where he came euen as hee had beene an enemy. Alexander, at the first by reason of the darkenes of the smoke, staied for feare of ambushments. But when they which were sent to scoure the Countrey reported that all thing was cleere, hee appoynted a few horsemen to proone the passage of the Riuer, who found

found the deepnes at the first entrie to come to the horse brest, and in the middest of the streame to the horse neckes. There is no riuer in all the East part of the World that runneth so violently, which besides the waters of other Riuers that do runne into it, driueth downe stones with the streame, so that of his swiftnes it is called Tygre, which in the Persian Toung is so much to say as an Arrowe. The footmen therefore deuided into two bandes, holding their armoure ouer their heads, were enclosed on both sides with the horsemen, and so passed till they came in the deepe of the chanel, without any great difficulty. The King was the first amongst the footmen that passed ouer to the further side, who with his hande (seeing his voice could not be heard) shewed the shallow places vnto the Souldiers. But they had much paine to keepe their footing by reason of stones, whereupon they stumbled, & of the violence of the Water that tooke their feet away. Such as carried burthens on their backs had the greatest trauel, which not being able to stay themselues by reasō of the trouble of their cariage, were borne down by violence of the stream. And whilest euery man went about to recouer again his own, ther fell greater strife amongest themselues, then they had with the stream. And the heaps of fardels that

fleeted euery where vpō the water bare down many. The King cryed to them that it was sufficient to keep their armour and let the rest goe, promising to recompence euery man: but they neither followed his counsell, nor did as he commaunded them. For besides the noise that was amongest them, feare filled their eares as they were swimming and wading through the water. At length wher the stream was most shallow they came foorth, there being nothing miscaryed or wanting amongest them all, sauing a few fardels. If their enemies had made but a proffer against thē, they might easily haue bin put to distresse. But Alexanders continuall good Fortune turned then his enemies away from him, with which fortune hee passed the riuer of Granike when so many thousands both of horsemen and footmen kept the passage against him. After that sort hee ouercame the multitude of his enemies in the streets of Cilicia. Though his boldnes were such, that it sometime wanted praise, yet his felicity euer deliuered him out of all extreame perill. If Mazeus had done his part, and sett vpon them as they were passing the riuer, he might easily haue put them to distresse, being vnarmed & out of order: but after the Macedōs had armed themselues (being then to late) he began to shew himself with

a M. horsemen. When Alexander perceiued the small number that came against him, hee caused Ariston Captaine of the Peonians to geue a full charge vpon them. The horsemē that day notably behaued themselues, but in especiall Ariston, which with his spear ran Satropases the chiefe Captaine through the throte, and pursuing him into the midst of his troupe, threw him from his horse, and cut off his head, which to his great commendacion, he brought and threw down before the King. Alexander taried there 2 daies and against the morning caused warning to bee geuen by proclamacion for his setting forwardes. But in the first watch of the night, the Moone suffred Eclips, which loosing her brightnes, afterwardes became as redde as bloude, and therewith waxed dimme and darke. The strangenes of this matter did strike a religious feare amongest the Macedods, whereof proceeded such a doubt and dread, that they fell into a murmure, and grudging that they shoulde bee brought forwardes after such a manner against the will of Gods, into the vttermost boundes of the Earth, whereas they were not hable to passe the Riuers, nor coulde not enioye the accustomed vse of the elementes, findinge nothinge but waste groundes and wilde desertes: all whiche

was done (they ſayd) for the ambicion of one man, for whoſe vain glory the bloud of ſo many thouſands ſhould be ſhed. He diſpiſeth (qd they) his countrey, hee hath forſaken Phillp for his father and affected heauen in his fooliſh imagination. When Alexander perceiued the matter to come to a muttering, hee that in all thinges was without feare, commaunded the cheefe rulers and Capitains of his men of warre to aſſemble at his pauilion, and there commaunded the Aſtronomers of the Egiptians (whom hee iudged to haue moſt vnderſtanding of the Planets) to declare their opinions. They vnderſtanding very wel the reuolutions of the time, and their appointed courſes knew that the moone did euer eclipſe when that either ſhe went vnderneath the earth, or elſe when her light was blemiſhed by oppoſition of the Sunne, which reaſon conceiued amongeſt themſelues, they accuſtomed not to teach the people. But affirmed ỳ the Greeks were vnder the reſpect of the Sunne, and the Perſians vnder the Moone: and therefore ſo often as the Moone faileth of her light, it ſignified great deſtruction to the nacions vnder that conſtellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs, they brought in old preſidents of the Kinges of Perſe, to whom the Eclipſe of the Moone had ſignified, that the Gods were

againſt

against them in fightinge of their battails. There is nothing more effectuall then superstition to gouerne a multitude, which otherwise is without rule, madde, and mutable: but when they haue once conceiued a Religion, though it be but vaine: they be more obedient to their Diuiners, then to their Captaynes. Which thing might bee well perceiued, when the answeres of the Egiptians were spred abrode amongest the people. For they streight waies were remoued frō their dulnes & dispair & stirred vp to hope & confidence. Alexander therefore that coulde vse the time and employ his souldiours in their good mood: in the second watch remoued his campe, keping Tigre on his right hand, and the mountains which they call *Gordeies* on his left hand. By the spring of the day the scourers that he sent before to discouer, returned to him with report that Darius was comming. Then the Souldiers prepared themselues to the fight, & marched forwards in order of battaile. But those that discouered for the Persians, were but a thousand horsemen, which keeping the scout a farre of, seemed to the Macedons to be a great army. The scourers commōly haue that property, that when they cannot finde out the truth, they imagin through feare thinges that bee false. When Alexander vnderstood

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stood the certaintie, he sent out towards them a small number of his own horsmen: at whose comming they fled, and were partly slain, and partly taken Prisoners. That done, hee sent horsemen as wel to discouer further, as also to quench the fire which the Persians had made through all the Countrey: For as they fled away, they put fire into the rookes of their houses, and the stackes of corn, which soone took hold aboue, and consumed all till it came to the grounde. By extinguishinge of those fiers, great plenty of Corne was founde, and aboundance of all other thinges ensued amongest the Macedons. That was a matter whiche encouraged the Souldiers greatly to pursue their Enemies. For they doubting least they should burne and consume all suche thinges as might serue to their vse: pursued them with all the speed they could make: wisdome growing of necessitie. For Mazeus which before did burne the countrey at leisure, when he saw himselfe pursued, fled away, and left vnto the Macedons the more part vntouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius drewe towardes him, and was come within an hundred and fiftie furlonges, made prouision of victuals, and remained foure daies in the same place. *Darius* letters were there intercepted, which hee had written to the

Greeks,

Greekes, in perſwaſion ether to kill or betray Alexander. He doubted whether hee ſhould receyte the ſame letters openly or no, haning no miſtruſt of their beneuolence and affection towardes him. But Parmenio diſſwaded the putting of any ſuch promiſes into the ſouldiers heads, conſidering that the committing of ſuch an acte conſiſted in one mans hande, and that couetouſnes iudged neuer any thing vnlawfull. He folowed Parmenio his counſel, and ſo remooued his Campe. As they were marching, one of the Eunuches that attended vpon Darius wife brought word howe ſhee fainted, and was in great perill of death. For ſhee in very deede was ſo wearied with continuall trauell of her iourney, and care of minde, that ſhee fell downe in a ſwowne betwixt her mother in law, and her young daughter, & ſo dyed. He had not ſo ſoone told ỹ tale, but another came with tidings that ſhee was dead indeede: whereat Alexander was no leſſe ſorrowfull, then if his owne mother had bene in the ſame caſe, and weeping no leſſe thẽ Darius ſhould haue done, repairing into the tent wher Darius mother was ſitting by the dead body: there hys ſorrow renued when hee ſaw her lye proſtrate vpon the ground: who by ỹ chaunce that preſently fell, beeing put in remẽbrance of her aduerſity by paſt, embraced in

his

his armes Darius two daughters, a comfort to hir in their mutual dolour, but that ſhe was enforced to comfort them. Her young nephew ſtood in her preſence, the more to be pitied, becauſe that for his youth, he yet vnderſtood not the calamitie that was growing towards him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wept for his owne cauſe, which lamented and would receiue no comfort, but abſteyned from meate, and reſerued all honor to be done to the dead corps after the countrey cuſtome of the Perſians. Worthye hee was thereby to receiue the due reward of ſuch hys meekenes and continencie. He had onely ſeene her once before, which was the day of her taking, and then came not to viſit her, but Darius mother. The excellencie of her beauty was no prouokement to him of luſt but of glory. Of thoſe Eunuches that were about the Queene, there was one Tiriotes, which during this mourning and lamentation, eſcaped by a gate that was vnwarded, and fled vnto the Perſians campe, where he was by the watchmen brought to Darius preſence. When Darius ſaw him lamenting and tearing of his clothes, he was in a wonderfull expectation what his ſorrow ſhuld be, doubting what thing he might feare moſt. Thy countenance (quod he) declareth that ſome great

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miſchiefe is happened. Take heed thou concealeſt nothing from my miſerable eares, I haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is oftentimes a comfort of a mans calamitie to know his miſhap. Is it not the miſuſing of my wife and children that thou wouldeſt tell me? which is the thing I ſuſpect moſt, and feare to vtter, and (as I beleeue) is moſt greeuous vnto them. Nothing leſſe (qd Tiriotes) the ſame honour that was giuen vnto them by your ſubiects, the like is vſed by him that is victorer. But your wife is the cauſe of my amazement, which is euen nowe dead. When that word was once ſpoken, there was nothing but lamentation & howling throughout the campe. And Darius could not be otherwiſe perſwaded but that ſhe was ſlaine, becauſe ſhe would not conſent to her miſuſement, and in the vehemency of his ſorrowe, cryed out.

O Alexander, what ſo great an offence haue I committed againſt thee? whome of thy kynred haue I ſlaine, that thou ſhouldeſt requite me with crueltie? Thou haſt done it without any prouokement of my part. But be it ſo that thou doeſt moue a iuſt warre againſt me, yet, is it thy parte therefore to keepe warre with women?

Tyriotes thereupon did ſweare by the Gods immortall, that there was no kinde of villany doone vnto her, but that Alexander lamented

lamented her death, and wepte no lesse then hee himselfe would haue done. Those wordes did driue him into a further suspicion and iealousie, coniecturing that Alexanders behauiour therein, had risen vpon the familier cõuersation had betwixt them. Therefore hee auoiding all persons from him, sauing onely Tyriotes, and left his weeping, but yet sobbing for sorowe said vnto him. Thou seest now Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place. Torments straight waies shall bee brought before thee. I require thee therefore if any reuerence of thy Prince remain within thy hart, tell me without compulsion the thinge that I desire to knowe and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of the age that hee is, and hauing her in his handes, that hee should not attempt her? Tyriotes offered him selfe to be racked in triall of the cause: & called the gods to witnes, that she was neuer vsed but chastly & reuerently. At length when he was once perswaded that his wordes were true, he couered his face weeping a long space, and afterwards the teares yet distilling downe his cheekes, vncouered his face, and holding vp his handes to heauen said:

O you Gods that I doe worship, I require you chiefly to establish this kingdome vnto my selfe: But if ye haue determined my ruin & decay, then my

my requeſt is that none may raigne as King in my Dominion, but euen he that is ſo iuſt an enemy, & ſo merciſull a victorer.

**And therefore, though hee had twiſe before required peace at Alexander his handes & preuailed not, but had conuerted all his mind toward the wars: yet he was then ſo ouercom with the cõtinency of his enemy, that hee ſent ten of the chiefeſt of his bloud as embaſſadors to treat with him vppon condicions of peace. Alexander calling a counſell gaue them prẏe-ſence, to whom the eldeſt ſpake in this wiſe.**

That Darius hath now the third time demaunded peace of you, no power hath compelled him, but your iuſtice and continency hath moued him Hee ſhould not perceiue that ether his mother, wife or Children were priſoners, ſauing for want of theyr company, you taking care of their chaſtities which remain aliue like a father. You giue to them the ho noure appertaining, & ſuffer them to continue in their former eſtate. I ſee that dolourouſnes in your face, that I ſaw in Darius when I parted from him and yet he doth mourne for his wife, and you for your enemy. And if the care of her buriall had not been, you had now ſtande in battell in readines to fight. Is it any maruel therfore if he require peace of ſuch one, that is ſo friendlye diſpoſed towardes hym? What ſhall they neede to contende with armes, between whom ther remaineth no hatred; In his former treatiſe hee offered that the Riuer of Alys which boundeth vpon Lydia ſhould be the confynes of your Empyre: but now he proffereth you

you in Doure with his Daughter to bee deliuered out of hand all those countries that lie betweene Hellespont and Euphrates. For the performance of which his promise: and for the obseruing of peace, Occhus his sonne, nowe in your possession shall be the pledge for his part. His request is to haue his mother and his two daughters restored vnto him, for which three you shall receiue xxx. thousand Talents. Except I knewe the moderation that is in you, I would not be so bold to say that this is a time when you ought not onely to graunt peace, but also to seeke for it your selfe. Looke backe and behold what a great thing you leaue behinde you, and foresee how much it is that you couet before you. Ouer great an Empyre is daungerous. And it is hard to hold that you be not able to receiue. Doe you not see that those ships which be of exceeding greatnes, that they cannot well be gouerned? I udge that to be the cause that Darius lost so much, because that ouermuch is the occasion of much losse. It is more facill to get many things then to keepe a fewe. How much more easily do our handes catche then hold still? The very death of Darius wife now dooth shewe, that you haue not so great occasion to shew mercie as you had before.

**The Embassadours were remooued vnto another place, and he debated in counsell his oppinion. It was long before any durst vtter what they thought, because they were vncertaine how the king was enclined At length Parmenio spake and said:**

My opinion was euer that the prisoners taken at Damasco should haue beene deliuered to such as

as would redeeme them, whereby a great ſumme of money might haue beene made of them, which now remayning in captiuity, peſter the handes of many a man of ſeruice. And now I thinke moſte neceſſary of all, that you exchaunge for xxx. talents of gold, this old woman and the two young Damoſels, which be but impediments and diſturbance to you in your iourneis. Here is a rich realm to be gotten by treaty without any haſard of battaile. For there was neuer none before you (quod he) that was Lord of all the countrey in length & breadth lying betweene Iſtor and Euphrates. Hee willed him therefore rather to haue reſpect towards Macedonia, then to loke forwatd towardes Bactria and the Indians.

**His words liked not the King, and therefore ſo ſoone as Parmenio had made an end of his tale, he made this anſwere.**

And if I were Parmenio, I woulde rather deſire money then glory. But now ſeeinge I am Alexander, I am not in any doubt of pouertie, and haue conſideration that I am a King, and no marchant. I haue nothing whereof I will make ſale, & much leſſe ſell my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuer the Priſoners, it were much better to geue them freely, then to ranſome them for money.

**Hereupon he called in the Embaſſadours, and anſwered them in this ſort:**

Shewe you to Darius that geuinge of thankes is but waſt to a mans enemye, and let him not thinke that I haue had any reſpect to his friendſhippe in thoſe thinges that I haue done of mine owne clemencye and liberality. Nor let him not impute

the ſame in anye wiſe towardes hym ſelfe, but to the inclination of myne owne natnre, and that I contende not againſt mennes calamities, but againſt the force of mine enemyes. I vſe not to make warre with women and priſonners, for he muſt bee armed, to whom I ſhall ſhewe my hatred. And though it were ſo indeede, that he ment good faith in his peace aſking, yet peraduenture I woulde aduiſe mee before I woulde conſent. But ſeeing that at ſometime he hath by his letters prouoked my Souldiers to betray me, and at other tymes ſturred vp my frendes with Money to my deſtruction: I muſt purſue him to the vttermoſt: not as a righteous enemye, but as one that worketh his thinges by treaſon. If I ſhould accepte the condicion, of peace that you doe bringe, I ſhould acknowledge him to bee victorer, which liberally doth geue mee all that is behinde the riuer of Euphrates, not conſidering in what place I ſpeake now vnto you. Haue you forgotten that I am paſſed the riuer of Euphrates, and encamped beyonde the boundes yee proffer mee in Dowry? driue mee from hence, that I may knowe the ſame to be yours, wherewith ye wonld enfeoffe mee. He profereth me his daughter with no greatter liberty then hee woulde doo to one of his Seruauntes. Doth he thinke to doo me a pleaſure in preferring mee to be his ſonne in law before Mazeus? Goe and ſhewe this to your King, that both the thinge hee hath loſt, and that hee hath yet in poſſeſſion, ſhall bee vnto mee rewardes of the warre, which warre ſhall diſcuſſe the boundes of both our Empires, and by the fortune of the Battaile wee ſhall fight to morrowe, appoint to eche of vs our limits. Let him know that I came not into Aſia to receiue but to geue. If hee woulde haue beene contente

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to bee seconde person, and not coueted to bee equall with me, I would peraduenture haue graunted his requeſt. But as two Sunnes cannot ſhine on the earth at once, ſo likewiſe twoo ſuche great great kingdomes can not be at one time, without the ſubuerſion of the wolde. Therefore let him eyther this daye yeelde hymſelfe, or elſe prepare againſt the morrowes fighte, nor let him not perſwade himſelfe to haue other fortune, then hee hath proued already.

The Embaſſadours replyed: that ſeeing he was reſolued to proceede with warre, hee did royally in that he was plaine, and did not feed them forth with hope of peace. Their requeſt was therefore that they might bee diſpatched to their prince, to warne him to prepare himſelf likewiſe. Whē they returned they brought word that there was no way, but prepare for the fight. Wherefore Darius ſent Mazeus, out of hande with three thouſand horſemen to keepe the paſſages, whereby the Macedons ſhould paſſe. When Alexander had performed ſ funrrals of Darius wife, leauing with a ſmall garriſon all ſuch as were vnprofitable for the fight, within the ſtrength of his campe, ſet forwards towards his enemies. His footmen were deuided into two battailes empaled with horſemen on both ſides, and his cariage went in the middes. Hee ſent Medinas with horſmē vpon the ſpurs to diſcouer, where

hauing alſo fiftye hooked Wagons, placed a band of Caſpian Horſemen before them, and behind them, the Indians, and other the inhabiters of the red Sea, rather names of men then good aſſiſtance. This ſquare was empaled with fiftie wagons, vnto the which the Mercenary ſouldiers were ioyned: after them followed the men of Armenie the leſſe, then ỹ Babilonians, and next the Bellitans, with ſuch as inhabit the Coſſean mountains. The Gortuans came next, which ſometime followed the Medians out of Euboia: but at thoſe dayes degenerated from their Countrey cuſtomes. The Pyrigians, Cathonions, & Parthians encloſed the taile. This was the battaile on the left hande. In the battaile on the right hand were the people of the greater Armenie, the Caduſians, Capadocians, Sirians and Medians, who had fifty hooked Wagons. The ſumme of his whole Army was xlb. M. horſemen, & C C thouſande footmen. When they were placed in order of battaile, they marched forward ten furlongs, and then were commaunded to ſtay. Whileſt the Perſians after that manner taried for their Enemies, there fell a ſodaine feare amongeſt the Macedons: whereof there appeared no cauſe, and yet euery man was amaſed, and a ſecret dread entred into their hearts. The lightning

that

that fell out of the ayre beeing in the sommer season seemed like fier, and the flames sodenly appearing, were thought to come from Darius campe, If Mazeus, which was sent to obserue their comming, had set vpon them whileſt they were in this feare, he might haue done them some notable domage. But he was slacke to do his enterpryse, and remained vpon the top of an hil, contented that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiuing the terour that was come amongst his men, made a signe for them to stay, and gaue order that they should vnarme themselues, and refreshe their bodies: geuing them to vnderstande that there was no cause why they shoulde so sodaynlye conceiue a feare, seeing their Enemies were yet a good distaunce from them. At length when hee perceiued they had recouered their Spirites, hee exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their Armour. But yet he thought nothing more expedient for ỹ case present, then to fortify his campe in the same place The next day Mazeus which had planted himselfe on a high hil, frõ whence he might behold his Enemies camp, either for feare, or elle because his commission was but onely to discouer, returned againe vnto Darius. Vpon his departure the Macedons by and by tooke the hil which he had forsaken, the same beeing

alreadye striken a soddaine feare amongest the Macedons: which (hee said) myght bee seene by their rummynge here and there, by the carryinge and castinge of their Armoure And that the Goddes which tooke care of the Persians Empire, were nowe determyned to punishe those Cowardes: Whose Captaine (quod he) beeing of no other sorte then the reste, were like vnto those wilde beastes, which throughe greedines of the Praye that they do couet, fall into the snares that bee set for them. The like care was amongest the Macedons. For as thoughe the matter shoulde haue beene tryed that Nyght, they passed it ouer in doubt and feare. Alexander hymselfe (that was neuer seene in suche feare before that time) called for Aristander to make vowes and prayrs: whoe in a whyte Garment carrying Verbenes in his hande, with his heade couered, went before the King, calling vppon Iupiter, Minerua, and Victoria. When he had thus performed his sacrifice according to their Religion, he returned into his Pauilion to rest the residue of the night. Yet he could neither rest nor sleepe, but continually debated with himselfe which way he should assaile his enemies. One while he was of opinion to geue his first onset vppon that battaile of the Persians that should

come on his right hand: sometime he determined to meet his enemies in the very from, and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his body became heauy with trauel of ꝑ mind, and fell into a sound sleepe. When the day appeared, the Captains assembled about ꝑ kings Pauilion, to receiue their charge, where they stoode amazed with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wōder that Alexander, who was euer wont to call vppon other men, and to reproue such as were slow or negligent, not to bee then stirring, when the matter was come to the point of the extream daunger. And many were opinion ꝑ he slept not, but shronke for feare: yet for all that, none of them that were about hys person durst attempt to wake him. In the mean season the time past away, and the souldiers might neither put on their armour nor goe in order of battaile, without commaondement of their head. When they had thus tarried a good whyle Parmenio gaue commaundement they shoulde fall to meate. At length when the time came that of necessity they must set their battels, he entred into the kings lodging, & called vppon him diuers times by hys name: but whe nhe could not awake him with his voice, hee stirred him with his hande.

to proue the minds of ſuch as were about him, called his frends to conſult what was beſt to doe. Parmenio ẏ was the moſt expert man among all the Captains in the feats of warre, he thought good not to geue his Enemyes playne battaile, but rather to ſet vppon them in the dead time of the night, whereby he thought they might eaſily be diſcomfited: ſuppoſyng that they among whom there was ſo great diuerſity of cuſtomes & alteracion of language, could neuer aſſemble well together, ſpecially when they ſhould bee put ſodainly in feare in the night time beeing a ſleepe: wheras in the day time the ſhape of the Scithians and Bactrians with their rough Faces, and longe haire, beſides the hugenes of their bodies ſhould appeare terrible. And argued how ſouldiers were more mooued with the vaine cauſes of feare, and ſuch as were of no momente, then with ſuche as were iuſt cauſes indeede. He declared alſo how their enemies by reaſon of their great multitude, ſhould be able to enclofe their ſmal number round aboute: and that they ſhould not now fight in the ſtreights and narrow paſſages of Cilicia, but in an open and large playne:

They all in manner agreed to Parmenio his ſaying: and Policarpon was of a plaine opinion, that the victory conſiſted in the point which he had deuiſed. The King that before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then he thought good, would not checke him againe, but beheld Policarpon, and ſaid:

That pollicy that you aduiſe me, pertaineth to ſtealers and theeues: for it is their propertye to

worke

worke by ſleight and deceyt, I will no more ſuffer that either Darius abſence, the ſtreightnes of the grounde, or the ſtealth in the Night ſhall bee an hinderance to my glory. I am playnly determined to haue to doo with him in the open day, and had rather repent me of my fortune, then be aſhamed of my victory. Beſydes this it is to be conſidered, that the Perſyans keepe good watch: & ſtand armed alwaies in a readines to receiue vs, wherof I haue aduertiſement, ſo that they cannot be deceiued that way: therfore there doth remain no more but that you prepare your ſelues to the battaile.

When he had by theſe wordes put them in a courage, he diſmiſſed them from counſell, to refreſh their bodies, Darius conjecturing ẏ his enemies woulde haue done the ſam thing that Parmenio did perſwade, cauſed the horſes to ſtande readie bridled the whole night, & the more part of his hoſte to continue armed, and keep good watch. His camp ſhone bright with the fires that were made, and he himſelfe with his Captains and kinſfolks went about his battailes that ſtood in order and in armes, making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars, & to ẏ euerlaſting fire, ẏ they would inſpire vnto them a fortitude of minde, that might anſwere to the ancient glory and acts of his predeceſſors. And ſhewed if the mind of man were able to conceiue any tokens or ſignes of the Goddes fauour or aſſiſtance: it was no doubt but that they were bent on their ſide, hauing

already

of more ſtrength then the plain, where they remained before, from whence they might behold their enemies campe. And though ỹ miſt which the moiſty hilles did caſt forth, took not away cleerly the vſe of the proſpect: yet it letted them to diſcerne the diuiſion of their enemies bactails, & their order, the multitude of whom ouerſpred the fieldes, and the noiſe of ſuch a number filled their eares, though they were farre of. Then Alexander began to reuolue in his head, and debate with himſelfe, one while Parmenios opinion, and another time his owne. For hee was come ſo far forth that he could not retire except hee were victorer, without the great deſtructiõ of his army. The multitude of his Enemies mooued him much in reſpect of his ſmall number. Yet on the other part he remembred what great acts he had done with them, and how many nacions he had vanquiſhed. So that hope ſurmoũting his feare, he thought it moſt daunger of all to defer the battaile any longer, leaſt deſperation might grow amongeſt his men, and therefore diſſembling the matter, cauſed the mercenary horſemen and the Pheones to paſſe on before, and deuided his Phalanx (as it hath bin ſaid before into 2, battails and empaled ỹ ſame with horſemen on both ſides. By ỹ time the miſt auoided, and it began to waxe cleare,

the

ſoꝛder of their enemies appearing manifeſtly. The Macedons then, whether it were of courage, oꝛ foꝛ that they were impacient to tary any longer, made ſuch a ſhout as men of warre vſe when they ioyne in battaile: the like was alſo made by the Perſians. Then the woods and valleis rounde about redounded with the terrible ſound. The Macedõs could not abſteyne any longer, but would haue foꝛward towards their enemyes. But Alexander thought it better to foꝛtify his campe vpon that hill, and ſo commaunded it to bee entrenched about. Which woꝛke beeing ſpeedely perfourmed, hee entred into his Tent, from whence hee might beholde the whoꝛe armie of his enemies hoſt. Then the whole faſhion and fourme of the danger that was at hand, was preſented befoꝛe his eies: both hoꝛſemen and footmen gliſtered in their bright armour, and all things were prepared with great dilligẽce. He beheld the care of the Captaines in his enemies Campe, howe they did ride vp and downe to ſette thinges in oꝛder. And diuers things which were but vaine indeede (as the noyſe of men, the neying of hoꝛſes, and the gliſtering of their Armeure) troubled yet the minde that was carefull in the expectacion of the matter. Therfoꝛe whether it were that he was not fully reſolued in his minde, oꝛ elſe

to

It is fat fourth day (qd he) & your enemies come forwards in order of battaile, and your ſouldiours being yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement giuen them what they ſhal do. Where is that cheerfulnes and courage of yours become, which were wont to ſtirre vp other men?

Alexander made aunſwer vnto him.

Thinke you that I could ſleepe before that I had rid my ſelfe of the care that letteth me to take my reſt? and therevpon cauſed the trompets to blow to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued ſtill in admiration that he in ſuch a time could ſleepe ſo quietly, It is no maruaile (quod Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, waſted the Villages, and deſtroyed the victuals, I could then in no wiſe be quiet. But now what cauſe haue I of feare, ſeeing he prepareth himſelfe to fight? He hath now fulfilled my deſire: reſort you where your charge lyeth, and I will ſtreightwaies come to giue order amongſt you, and reaſon this matter afterwards.

He vſed ſeldome to take his friends aduiſe when any doubt or danger was at hand. Whē Parmenio was gone, he armed himſelfe, and came forwards amongſt the ſouldiers. They ſeeing him looke ſo cheerefully as they had not done before time, conceiued by the boldnes of his countenance a certeine hope of the victorie. Then he cauſed the trenches of his campe to be caſt downe, that the Souldiours might haue free paſſage forth, and ſo did ſet his battailes in order. The horſemen which they

they call Agenia, of whom Clitus was capitaine, were set in the wing of his right hand battaile, to whom he ioyned Philotas and other Capitaines. The last bande of horsemen was Meleagers, which went next vnto the square battaile of footmen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the Phalanx followes the Argiraspides, of whom Nicanor the son of Parmenio was capitaine. Cenos with his band was appointed to be a reliefe: Horestes and Lyncesta came next in order, and after them Polycarpon that had the rule of the strangers, and Phylagus which had the rule of the Balacrons. And this was the order of Alexanders battaile in the right ward, whereof Amintas was chiefe. In the left battaile Craterus had the charge of the Peloponesian horsemen, and with him also the bandes of the Achæans, Locrensians, and Molœnensians, and the last troupes were the horsemen of Thessaly, vnder Philip their capitain. Thus the horsemen couering the footmen, made the front of the left battaile. And lest the enemies through their multitude should enclose the battaile about, he planted a great force behinde for the reliefe of that matter, and set a reliefe also vpon the winges not in front with the rest, but vpon the sides, to the intent that if the enemies attempted to compasse about,

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the battailes, that they ſhoulde bee ready to keepe them dooinge. Thoſe that occuppyed the places of reliefe were the Agrians, of whō Attalus was Captaine, and the Archers of Creete ioyned vnto them. Such as ſtoode in the hinder partes of the battailles, were ordered to turne their Faces from the frontwardes, becauſe that beeing in a readines eway, the battailles in euery place ſhould bee of like force. They which ſtoode with theyr faces contrariewiſe were the Illirians, and the mercenary ſouldiers, with the Thracians that were lighte harniſed. Theſe his battailes were ſet ſo aptly to be turned euere way that ſuch as ſtood in the hinder partes ſhulde not bee encloſed aboute, but might towardes eache parte make their Fronte: ſo the Front, the Flankes, and the hinder partes were all of like force. When hee had ſet his men in order after this manner, hee gaue commaundement, that if the Perſians ſhoulde put forwardes vppon them their hooked Wagons, with a crye or noyſe, that then they ſhoulde open their battailes, and receiue them with ſilence, not doubtinge but that they ſhoulde paſſe through without harme dooinge, yf no man did reſiſt them. But if thay ſhould come without anye ſhoute or clamoure, that then they themſelues ſhoulde make a crye to feare

the

the horse withall, and so with pikes thruste them in on euery side. They which had the charge of the battailes were commaunded to extende theym so muche in breadth as they mighte, least by standinge ouer close, they mighte bee enuironed, and yet not to stretche them so farre out, to leaue the places voyde or thinne in the middest. The carriage and the Prisonners (amongest whom Darius Mother was) were sette in the top of an hill, with a small gard about them. The charge of the lefte Battaile was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed before time, and Alexander himselfe was in the other. When they were come neare togetogether, on Byon canur flying from the Persian host in all the hast he could make, and declared vnto the King that Darius hadplanted Iron Galtops, where as he thought his horsmen should passe: and by a certaine signe shewed him the place, because it be auoided. Alexander willed the fugitiue to beekept safe, and assembled all his Captaines together, declaring the matter, and exhortinge them to make their souldiers priuie to the danger, for eschewing the place pointed out to them. But all that were in so great an armye couldenot heare the warning geuen, the noyse of both armies takynge away the vse of the eares.

But

**But Alexander riding betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortation to the Captaines, and to all other that were within hearing.**

He declared that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countreys in hope of the victorie, which they were now ready to fight for. Therupon he reduced to their memorie the battailes they had fought, at the Riuer of Granike, in the mountaines of Cilicia, and with what speede they had passed ouer both Siria and Egipt, the reherfall whereof put them in great hope and pricked them forwards to the desire of glory. Hee shewed that the Persians being withdrawne againe from their former flying, were now compelled to fight of necessity, because they could flie no further, & how that three dayes together amazed for feare, they had remained still in one place with their armour on theyr backes. Of whose dispaire (he said) there could be no greater argument, then that they had set on fire their owne countrey, confessing all to be their enemies, that they destroyed not. Hee exhorted them, not to feare the vaine names of vnknowne nations: for it was a thing nothing pertinent to the moment of the matter, which were called Scithians or Caducians. For that they were vnknowne nations, was the greatest token that they were men of no valure. For because such as be valiant men could neuer be vnknowne in the world. And contrariwise, dastards when they come forth of their dens, bring nothing with them but names of men, whereas you (qd hee) that be Macedons haue obteyned by your vertue and manhod, that there is no countrey in the world ignorant of your actes. He willed them to behold the euill order

that

that was in their enemies hoſt, of whom ſome had no weapon but a dart, other a ſling to caſt ſtones, and very few had ſuch armoure as they oughte to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other part: yet hee ſayd they had more on their ſide that ſhould come to hand ſtripes. And that for his part, he would not require any man to aduenture him ſelfe, except he were an enſample to them to ſhew valiantnes and courage: For hee promiſed that he ſhould be ſeen fighting with the formoſt, knowing that ſo manye woundes as hee ſhould get, ſhould be ſo many ornamentes to hys perſon. He ſaide, they themſelues knew that hee would be no partaker of the pray, but that euerhis cuſtome was to beſtow the rewards of the victory to their behoofe and commoditye. His former wordes hee ſhewed to bee ſpoken to ſuch as were men of courage, but if there were anye that were therwiſe they had to ſay vnto them that they were come to the place from whence they coulde not flye, hauing left ſo many countreys behinde them which they had paſſed ouer, and ſo manye Riuers and mountains at their backes: ſo that now there was no waye to their Houſes and Countreye, but ſuch as the muſt make open with their own hands.

This was the exhortacion he gaue vnto the Captaines and to ſuche of the Soulbiers as ſtood nerr him. Darius that was in his lefte battaile accompanied with a choiſe band of e-lect horſemen and footmen, diſpiſed ꝑ ſmall number of his enemies, their battails appea-ring to him thinne and voide of men, when he ſaw their winges ſtretched ſo farre abroade. He ſtood therefore on his Chariot on high, &

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turning himſelfe both on the right hande and the left, ſpake in this ſort to ſuch as were about him

We that not longe agoe were Lordes of all the countreys lying betweene Helleſpont & the Ocean ſea, are compelled now to fight, not for fame and glory, but for our ſafegarde and our libertie, which chiefly is to be eſteemed. This day ſhall ether eſtabliſh or make an end of the greateſt Empire that hath bin in any age. At the riuer of Granike wee fought with a ſmall parte of our power, when we were vanquiſhed in Cilicia, Siria was able to receiue vs, and the riuers of Tigre and Euphrates were as bulwarkes to defende our Kingdome. But now wee be come to that point, that we haue no place to flye to, if we bee put to flight. All things behind our backs are waſted with this long warre, neither cities be inhabited, nor men left to till the ground. Both our wiues and children do follow this army, a pray ready for our enemies, except wee put forth our bodies for the defence of ſuche as bee deare vnto vs. So muche as hath concerned me I perfourmed, preparing ſuche an Armye as this huge plaine is ſcarcely able to receiue. I diſtributed amongſt you horſe & armour, prouiding that victuals ſhould not want for ſuch a multitude, and haue choſen out an apt place to araunge our battails in. All the reſt remaineth in your hands. Do but dare, and the victory is yours: diſpiſe you this fame which is but a weak weapon againſt men of valure. It is raſhnes which hetherto yee haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the firſt brunte is ſpent, it waxeth then dull as theſe Dranes hauing once loſt their toungs. This plain hath diſcloſed thei ſmall number, which the mountains of Cilicia did hide: you ſee how thinne

thier

their rankes be, their wings how they be extended abroad, how their battails be empty and void of men, & such as be hindermost haue already turned their backes. They may be ouerthrowen with your horse feete, though I send none against them but the hooked wagons. And if we win the battail, wee make an ende of the warre, for they haue no place to flye vnto. They be shut with Tigre on the one syde, and Euphrates on the other, and suche thinges, as before made for their purpose, now be turned and made cleare against them. Our army is light, and without much baggage, and they be laden with prayes and with booties. We shal kil them therefore as they bee wrapt in our spoiles. And the same one thing shall be both our gain & the cause of our victory. If any of you bee moued with the fame of the nacion, you must think that the armor with the outward shew, and not the bodies of the very Macedons be their present: wee haue consumed so muche of their bloud since the warre began. And seeing they bee but few, their losse must needes bee to them the greatter. For how great so euer Alexander doth seeme to such as bee fearfull and cowardes, hee is but a man, and if you trust me both rash & without consideracion: and hetherto more fortunat through our feare then by his owne valure. There is nothing can continue that is not gouerned by reason. For though Fortune seem to fauoure for a while, yet at length shee shall not support his rashnes. Besydes that, the estate of things be full of chaunge, and no man hath perpetually felicitie. It may bee that the prouidence of the goddes, haue so ordeined it, that the empire of the Persians encreased with such prosperous successe by the space of two hundred and thirty yeares, and brought to so great an

height of fortune, ſhoulde now rather be ſhaken, then vterly ouerthrowen: thereby to admoniſhe vs of mans fragillity, whiche vſeth to forget himſelfe ouermuch in proſperous eſtate. It is not long agoe ſince of our owne mocion and courage, wee mooued warre againſt the Grecians, and inuaded their Dominions: but now we ſtand at defence in our own countrey. Thus we be toſſed one againſt another by exchaunge of Fortune. For one nacion cannot bear the greatnes of the Empire which wee both do couet. But bee it ſo that hope were taken from vs, yet neceſſity ought to prick vs forwards: the matter is come to ſuch extremity. Hee keepeth now as priſoners both my mother, my two Daughters, and Occhus my ſonne, borne to the ſucceſſion of this Empire. Hee keepeth Captiue your Princes, the iſſue that is deſcended of the bloud royall: yea, and your Captains equall with Kings, and if you do not now lay too your hands, I my ſelfe am like to become Captiue. Deliuer you therefore my bowels out of Priſon, and reſtore to me my Children, for whoſe ſake I do not refuſe to dye. Bee you all ſure that both my mother and my children (for my wife is dead in priſon) be holding vp their hands, crying vnto the goddes, and callyng for your helpe, your compaſſion and fidelity, that you would deliuer them from ſeruitude, from fetters, and from the eſtate they are in liuing at other mens will and appointment. Thinke you that they can be cõtent to liue vnder ſuch, as the could ſcarſly vouchfafe to haue for ſubiectes? I ſee that our enemies battails do approch, and the nearer the daunger is at hand, the leſſe the words I haue ſpoken do ſatisfy me. I make requeſt to you by the goddes of our Countrey, by the eternall fire that is carried vppon the Aulters, by the brightnes of

the

the Sunne that ryſeth within the boundes of mine Empire, and by the euerlaſting memory of Cyrus, which firſt did take the Empire from the Medes & Lidians & gaue it to the Perſians, to deliuer their name and this Nacion from ſhame and reproche. Goe forth cheerfully, haue you good hope, & ſee that you reſtore to your poſterity, the glorye you receiued of your elders. Lo, you carry now in your handes your liberti e, your helpe, and your hope in time to come. Whoſoeuer contemneth death, eſcapeth death, and death ouertaketh ſuche as do flye from death. I ryde heere in a Chariot not onely for that it is my countrey cuſtome, but alſo that I may bee ſeene of you all. And I deſire nothing ſo muche as that yee will followe mee, whether I ſhew you an enſample of proweſſe or of cowardlines.

In the mean ſeaſon whileſt Alexander did couet to eſchew the place of perill whereof he was warned, and enforced himſelfe to encounter with Darius left battaile, where he remained in perſon, was compelled to fetch a compaſſe about. Whom when Darius perceiued, he turned likewiſe his own battaile towardes him, willing Beſſus to oppoint the Maſſagets horſemen to geue a charge on Alexanders left battaile. Hee ſet before him his hooked wagons, which by a ſigne giue bȳakē, out ſodenlye vpon their enemies with a full courſe, to the intent that by their cōming vnbewares, they might do the greatter diſtruction. The pikes that were ſet before in the Wagons de-

stroyed diuers, and many were torne a sunder by the hookes that were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to them by a little and litle, but troubled their array with a main flight. When Mazeus saw their disorder, he put them in more feare, and appointed out a thousand horsemen to fetch a compasse about ỹ Macedons battails to spoile their carriage, supposing that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bandes when they should see their owne nacion approche. Parmenio which was in the left wing perceiued this matter well, and therefore sent by and by Polydamus vnto Alexander to shewe him the daunger, and know his pleasure what hee would haue done. When he vnderstood the case by Polydamus.

Goe thy way (quoth hee) and shew Parmenio, if we winne the battaile, wee shall not onely recouer agayne our owne, but shall haue also the spoile of our Enemies. Therefore I woulde not that anye parte of our Force shoulde bee remoued from the maine battaile, but let him fight it out manfully, & not regard the losse of baggage, wherein he shall obserue the honour of mee, and my father Philip, whose custome was to doo the like.

In the meane season the Persians were entred amongest the carriages, and had slaine diuers that were left there in defence: whervpon the Prisoners began to lose themselues,

and

and taking vp whatsoeuer came to hand, took part with the horsemen, and sharply assailed the Macedons: diuers were so ioyfull, that they ranne to beare tidinges to Sisigambis howe Darius had wonne the victory, and had ouerthrowen his Ennemies to their great slaughter, and also that all their carriage was wonne, thinkinge the like fortune had been euerye where, seeinge they sawe the Persians fall to spoile. And although they exhorted Sisigambis that shee should leaue her heauines and reioyce, yet she continued in the same estate shee was in before, without speaking one word or chaunging colour or countenance, but sate still immouable. Shee was so ouercome (as it was thought) with sodain ioy, that she durst not sturre nor attempt Fortune. For such as did beholde her, coulde not perceiue which way hee was enclined. In the meane season Amyntas, that was master of the horse to Alexander, came with a fewe bands of horsemen to succoure the carriages, but vncertaine it was whether hee did it of his owne head, or by the Kings appointment. He was not able to indure the force of the Caduseans and Scithians. For scarsly attempting the skirmish, hee was driuen backe, and fled againe vnto Alexander, beeing rather a witnes of the losse of the cariage, then a rescuer

cuer of the same. The griefe that Alexander conceiued of this matter ouercame the purpose he tooke before, and feared (not without cause) least the souldiers through ỹ carefulnes to recouer their owne, might leaue the fight, and resorte toward their baggage: hee sent therefore Aretes captaine of the Speremen that were named *Sarissopherii* against the Scithes. By this time the hooked Wagons, which had somewhat troubled the forefront, were come within the square (which the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the souldiers neuer shronke at the matter, but receiued them into the middest of their battaile, whereas ioyning themselues close together, they stoode like a wall on both sides thrusting their Pikes into the bowels of the horses & ran about the Wägons, throwing downe such as stoode in them at defence. The whole battaile was entangled and troubled with the ruine and killing of the horses with such as gouerned them. They coulde not rule their horses when they were once galled and hurte: which with much leaping and strugling, not only brake out of their trace, but also ouerthrew the Wagons drawing at their tailes the men that were slain, neither beeing able to stand still for the feare they were in, nor yet goe forwards beeing so faint of their woundes. Yet a fewe of them passed

through

through the battaile, wherby such as the wagons did light vpon were miserably slaine, lying vpon the ground with their members cut in sunder. Yet because that through ꝑ greennesse of their woundes they felte little paine, they kept their weapons still, notwithstanding they were maimed & without strength, till such time as by continuall bleeding, they sonke downe dead. Aretes in the meane time had slaine the Captaine of the Scithians that were spoiling of the carriages and repulsed them backe. But streight way came the Bactrians by Darius sending and turned the fortune of the fielde againe. Many Macedons were slaine at the first encounter, but more fled vnto Alexander. Then the Persians made suche a shoute as men are wont to doo that win their victorye, and fiercely assailed their enemies, thinking that they had in euery place bene put to flight. When Alexander perceiued his men shrinke, to begin to faint and geue ground, he rebuked such as he saw afraid, and encouraged many that withdrew from the fight: so that he alone restored the battaile againe. When hee had put them in hart, he required them to presse forwardes, and go on freely against their enemies. Alexander perceiuing that the Bactrians were departed to the defeating of the cariages, and

by

by their going had left the right hand battaile of Darius thin and naked, hee bente his force wholly that way, and there made a wonderfull slaughter and destruction of his enemies, which by reason of their lose array, were not able to withstande him. The Persians in the left wing seeing this thinge, were in hope to haue enclosed Alexander aboute, and came forwards to set vpon his backe part, whereby great daunger had ensued to him beeing enuironed both before and behinde: if the Agrians had not put their spurs to their horses, & geuen a charge to their Enemies, that were enuironing the King about, and so compelled the Persians to turne their faces againe towards them. The battailes thus were sore trauailed on both sides. Alexāder had his enemies both before and behinde, and his enemies that came on his back were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that had spoiled the cariages, were excluded from their owne company, and coulde not recouer their place again. Thus the battails were deuided in diuers partes, and fought one against another as their chaunce fell. The two Kings that ioyned their battailles harde one to another, renued againe the fight. There were most of the Persians slaine, but the number of the wounded were like on both sides. Darius

rius did ride in a Chariot, and Alexander vppon a Horse. They both hadde a choise bande aboute them, which were careles of their owne liues. For if their Kinges should miscarye, neither they coulde bee safe, nor yet desire to liue. Wherefore euery of them thought it a noble thinge to aduenture themselues before the face of their Prince, and he that coueted most to defend his master, was in most perill, for each man desired the honor to kill the King on his contrarye part. There (whether it were an imagination of the eyes, or a thinge done indeede) such as were aboue Alexander beleeued that they sawe an Egle flickering aboue his head, which neither feared with clashing of the harneis, nor by crying of thē that were dying, bong still in the aire a litle aboue him. Then Aristander which ware a white garment, and caried laurell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the Souldiers being busie in fighting, as a certaine token of victory: ẏ thing caused them which before were in som doubt cherefully & with great cōfidence to assaile their enemies: the fight continued after this sort vntil ẏ time that he was slaine, which gouerned the horse that drew Darius chariot. Then neyther the Persians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had been slaine. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a

barbarous noyse, and a sorrowfull howling, wherewith they sore troubled and astonied their whole host, that were yet fighting with equal victory Darius kinsmen & the Squiers for his body that were on his left hand left him and fled away with a main flight: but such as stoode in his defence on his right hande, conueyed him into the hart of the battaile. It was said that Darius drew out his sword and was determined diuers times to kill himselfe, rather then to susteine the shame of flying away. But when he saw as he sate aloft on his Chariot, that a greate part of his army remained yet fighting, hee was ashamed to leaue them in such sort. And whilest hee thus wauered in his owne opinion betwixt hope and dispaire, the Persians by litle and litle gaue grounde, and shronke from their order. Alexander that had tyred many horses, did at that instant change a new, and strake at the faces of them that made resistance. There was none then that made resistance any lōger, but a manifest slaughter fell on the Persians, and Darius turned his Chariot to flye away. The Macedons pursued hard after them that fledde, and the dust that flew vp to the skye, tooke away their prospect, so that they wandered as it had beene in darknes, and euer drue together whē they heard any voice that they knew. Only the

ratling

ratling and noise of the Chariot was a token for the Macedons to follow after. As fortune was prosperous to the Macedōs on this part, and contrarious vnto their enemies: so on the other side where Parmenio in the left winge encountered with the Persians, they had the better and the Macedons the worse. Mazeus with his whole band gaue a charge, and put the horsemen that stood in the winges to a sore distresse. And thereuppon by reason hee abounded with multitude, began to enclose the footmen about. Then Parmenio sente worde to Alexander in what daunger they were in, which he signified to be such, that except they had succour in tyme, they could not resist, but be enforced to flye away. Alexander was gone farre in the chase, when this sorrowfull message was brought him. Wherfore he commaunded the horsemen to stay, and chafed wonderfully that the victorye should thus be taken out of his hands, and that Darius had better fortune in flying, then he in his following. In the meane season the fame of Darius ouerthrow was nought vnto Mazeus. Wherefore though he had the vpper hand, yet he was striken with suche feare of his fellowes misfortune that hee made a slacke pursute vppon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cause why the fight did slacke so wil-

willingly of their parte, but boldlye vsing the occasion of the victory, called the Thessalian horsemen vnto him and said: See you not how our enemies that euen nowe gaue vs a fierce onset, be sodainly afraid, and withdraw themselues? I see the fortune of our kinge doth giue vs the victory. All ꝑ field is strowen with the Persians ꝑ be slain. Why do you therefore stay? are you not good inough for men that be flying? They saue his wordes had an appearance of a truth, and therefore by and by they tooke courage, and putting the spurres to the horse, gaue a full charge vppon their enemies, who retired not by little and little, but marched away a great pace. And they wāted nothing of flying, sauing that they had not yet directly turned their backs: yet for all that, in so much as Parmenio knew not what was become of the King, nor of his battaile, staied & would not pursue after thē. Mazeus hauing leasure giuen him to flye at his libertie, passed the riuer of Tigre, not the next way, but by a further compas about ꝙ more suerty, & retonered the city of Babilon, with the remains of that vanquished armye. In the meane season Darius with a few that accompanied him in his flying came to the riuer of Lycus, where passing ouer, hee stoode in doubte whether he should breake the bridge or no. For it was shewed

wed him that his enemies were at hand. But considering how many thousands of his men by the breaking thereof should bee a praye to his enemies, hee left the bridge standing, and at his departure, sayd: that he had rather ope the waye to them that pursued them, then to shut it against them that fled after him. But Darius left not his flying till hee came to Arbella, where hee arryued aboute midnight. Who is able to conceiue in his mind, or expresse in wordes the manifolde chaunces in this discomfiture, the slaughter that fell both vppon Captaynes and Souldiers, the Chasing of them that were put to flighte, and the distruction in particular and generall? Fortune heaped together that one day the chaunces of a whole world. Some tooke the way y came next to hande, another sort fled into the woods, & sought out by pathes to escape such as had them in the chase. There was a confusion of horsemen and footmen mixed together without any heade, the armed with the vnarmed, & the whole with the hurt. At length the compassion that one had of another was turned into feare, & they that could not follow, were leste bewailing themselues one to another. But thirst chiefly afflicted the wounded and wearied, which lay along euery where in the weies where any water was, gasping after it

with

with open Mouth. And when for greedines they had gulled in the troubled water, they began to ſwell, when the mud once entred into their intraelles. And beeing thus not in caſe to mooue, the Enemy came and ſturred them vp with new wounds. Some, whē the hooks neere hande were taken vp by other, ſought out for ſpringes in euery ſecret place. Nor there was no puddle ſo drie, nor ſo farre out of the way, that could bee hidden from̄ thirſte of them that ſearched them out. The old men and women were heard howling and crying in all the villages neere the way ſide, how Darius was yet their King. Alexander (as it hath been ſaid before) purſuing the chaſe was come to the riuer of Licus, wherat the multitude of the flyers was greater then could paſſe the bridge. So that many when their enemies purſued them, leapt into the water, and there laden with their Armoure, and wearied with fighting and flying, were conſumed with the ſtream. But within a while neither the bridge nor the riuer were able to receiue the thronge that continually encreaſed by their vnadviſed flying. For when feare was once entered into their hartes, they doubted onely that which put them firſt in feare. The Macedons were eger in the purſute of their enemies, and required Alexander that hee would not ſuffer

his

his enemies to escape free away. But hee to stay them, alleaged that their weapons were dulled, their hands wearied, their bodies faint to long pursute, & the Night besides fast approching on. But in very deede the care of his other battail, which he thought to be yet fighting, caused him to returne to the succour. He had not so soon turned his Ensignes, but that certaine Horsemen brought him word from Parmenio, that he likewise had put his enemies to flight. Hee was not in so great a danger all that day, as when hee was comming towards his campe. For there were but fewe that followed him, and they were out of order, as men that reioicing of the victory, iudged all their enemies either to be fledde or slain in the field. Sodainly there appeared a band of Persian horsemen comming against them, whiche at the first staied, but afterwardes perceiuing the small number of the Macedons, gaue a charge vppon them. The King rode formost, rather dissimuling then dispysing the peril he was in: but his perpetuall felicity neuer failed him in extremities. For at the first encounter hee strake the Captaine of the Persians, who in egernes of the fight vnaduisedly came against him, through with a Speare. When hee with that blow was striken to the grounde, Alexander slewe the next vnto him. With the

ſame ſtaffe, and after diuers other. When his company ſaw their Enemies amazed with his doings, they brake vpon them, and threw many to the earth: yet they for their parties were not vnreuenged, for the whole battail did not ſo earneſtly fight, as that ſmall band aſſembled ſo by chaunce. But at length when they ſaw flying in the darke to be more ſuerty vnto them then fighting, they ſhocked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing eſcaped this extraordinary perill brought his men in ſauegard vnto his campe. There were ſlaine of the Perſians, which came to ꝑ knowledge of them that had the victory forty thouſand, & of the Macedons leſſe then three hundred. Which victory Alexander wan more by his owne vertue then by any fortune: and with hardines and courage, more then through any aduantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailes politikely, and fought manfully. With great wiſedome he contemned the loſſe of the baggage, conſidering the weighte of the whole matter to conſiſte in the battaile it ſelfe. Whileſt the fortune of the field was yet doubtfull, hee vſed himſelfe as aſſured of the victory. And when he had put his enemies in feare, hee ceaſed not till hee had ſet them flying, and that which ſcarcely can be beleeued, in that fiercenes of courage, he purſued in the

chaſe

chase more wisely then greedilye. For if hee should haue followed on still, part of his power yet fighting in the field, hee should either haue lost the battaile through his owne fault, or else haue wonne the victorye through the prowesse of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victory, he had shewed himselfe afraid of the horsemen that hee mette, he must either haue shamefully fled, or haue beene miserably slaine. Nor his Captaines were not to bee defrauded of their commendacion: for the wounds that they did receiue, were tokens of their manhood. Ephestions arme was wounded with a Speare: Perdicas, Cenos, and Menidas with shotte of arrowes were neere slaine. And if wee will geue a true iudgement of the Macedons that were there: wee must confesse that hee was a King worthy such ministers, and they men worthy of such a master.

# The fyfthe Booke of Quintus Curtius of the actes of *Alexander the great*, King of Macedon.

IF I shall make mention of the matters that chaunsed in mean season both in Greece, Illiria, and Thracia, by the appointment and commission of Alexander, in order as they fell: the matters of Asia should thereby bee interrupted, which I thoughte most conuenient to put wholly together, vntill ỹ death of Darius, & then to ioine them in this worke, as they agree with the time. I wil first speake of those things that ensued after the battail at Arbella, where Darius arryued aboute midnight. And as it chaunced, the more part of his frendes, and of all other that were come thither. He called them all together, and spake to them in this effect.

That hee doubted not but Alexander & his men gaping with greedie desire for the aboundance of spoile that was in a readines for them, would visit such

such cities and countreys of his, as were most notable and plentifull of riches: which thing he said consideringe his estate, coulde not but turne at length to his auaile. His purpose was he said with a small band to repaire into the deserts. And seeing the vttermost boundes of his kingdome were yet vntouched, he might from thence easely repaire his power againe to renue the warre. Let therefore that greedy nacion (quoth he) take my treasure, and satisfy their greathonger, with gold which shortly shall cause both the same and them also to bee a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (hee said) by experience, that the aboundance of riches, and excesse of thinges, that their flockes of Concubines and Eunuches were nothing else but burdens and impediments: which Alexander possessing and caryinge about, should make him inferiour vnto them of whom before hee was victorius.

His oration seemed to all men to be full of desperation: for they saw thereby that ỳ riche City of Babilon should bee geuen vp vnto the Macedons, and Susa shortlye after, with all other ornamentes of the realm that were cause of the warr. But hee proceeded in perswadinge them, how that men in aduersitie ought not do thinges that should seeme goodly in the speakinge but necessarye in the experience. That warres were made with Iron, and not with gold, with men, and not with the walles of Cities, for all thinges follow them that be armed and in strength. He shewed that his auncestors were afflicted after this maner in the

beginning, & yet recouered again quickly their former estate. After he had spoke these words, either for that they therby encouraged, or else that they rather obeied his auctoritye then liked his counsell, followed him into the bounds of Media. Shortly after Arbella was geuen vp vnto Alexander, which was full of ryches and treasure of precious stuffe, and princely apparell, & besides the substance of the whole army was left there. The sickenes that began in Alexanders campe, rysing of the sauoure of the dead bodies scattered ouer all the fields, was the cause that hee did the sooner remoue. The plaine Countrey of Arabia very notable with the aboundance of sweete odours there growing, lay vppon the righte hande as they marched. And so passing through the Countrey lying betweene Tigre and Euphrates, which is so fatte and plentifull a ground, that the inhabitants became to driue their beastes from feeding, least they should kil themselues by eating ouer much. The cause of this fertility commeth of the moisture that issueth from both Riuers distilling by veines through the ground. Both these Riuers haue their beginning in the mountaine of Armeny, where they be distant 5. thousand 5. hundred furlonges, & so runne forwards keeping their distance, till they come neer the bounds of Media & Gor-

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dia. For then by litle and litle they further they goe, they drawe more neare together, leauing lesse space betwixte them. They encloseon both sides the Countrey that is called Mesopotamia, from whence they runne through the boundes of Babilon into the redde Sea. After Alexander, had chaunged his campe fower times, he came to a Citie called Memnium, whereas there is a fountaine within a caue that boileth out great plenty of pitch: so it appeareth that the Babilonians had their cement from thence, which they imployed about the making of their huge walles. As Alexander was going from thence towardes Babilon: Mazeus which was said before to haue fled from the battaile, came to meete him in most humble maner, whereas committing his children into his hands, yeeled himselfe, & rendred vp the City. His comming was very grateful vnto the King, considering what trauaile hee should haue sustained in the siege of so stronge a Citie: if it had beene kept against him. And besides, for so much as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiãt and much noted for his dooing in the last battail, thought his ensample shoulde much prouoke others to do the like, For that cause hee receiued both him and his Children with gentle manner, and yet gaue order to his menne, that they

shoulde enter into the citie in such aray of battaile as if they should fight. A great number of the Babilonians stoode vppon the walles, desirous to beholde him that was their newe King. But the more part went forth to meet him. Bagistines, that was Captaine of the castle, and keeper of the Kinges treasure because he would shew himselfe to be no lesse affectionate towards Alexander then Mazeus was, strowed all the waies where he should passe, with flowers and garlands, and set aulters of siluer on both sides, with frankensence burning vpon the same, and all other kinde of sweet odours. Next vnto him came flockes of beasts, great numbers of horses with Lyons, and Pardalles carried in Cages, which he brought as presents to geue vnto Alexander. And after them the Magies, singing according to their countrey manner. The Caldeis were next with their diuiners and prophetes, and then the Musicians with their kindes of Instrumentes: whose propertie was to singe the praises of Kinges, and the Caldeis vsed to declare the motions of the Planets, with the course and reuolution of the time. Last in order came the Babilonian horsemen, whose sumptuous furniture, both for theselues and their horses, seemed more to voluptuousnes and delicacy, then to any magnificence. Alex-

ander that was encloſed about with armed men willed that the Babilonians ſhould come behind his footmen, and he ryding aloft in his Chariot, entred into the citie, and afterwards into the place, where the next day hee ſurueied Darius treaſure and riches. The beautye and pleaſantnes of that Citie gaue iuſt occaſion to Alexander, and ſuche as were with him to wonder much vppon it. Semiramis was the builder therof, and according to ſome mens opinion Belus, whoſe pallace is to be ſeene there. The walles bee made of Bricke, ſet with a kind of pitche called Bitumen, and they be 32. foote in breadth, ſo that two carts may eaſily goe vpon them a front. They be in height a hundred cubits, and the Towers bee ten foot higher then the reſt of the walles: the compaſſe of them about is 368. furlongs, being builded (as it is leefe in memorye) in ſo many dayes. The houſes ſtand the breadth of an acre diſtant from the walles, not builded throughout the Citye but onely by the ſpace of 90. furlonges, and thoſe not ioyned neere one to another, but for ſome conſideration deuided aſunder. The reſt of the ground is ſowed and tilled, to the intent that if any forreine power come againſt them, they ſhould be able to bee relieued by the fruite thereof comming. The riuer of Euphrates doth runne through

the

the middest of the Citie, and is kept in on both sides with wals of a wonderful workmanship. But the great caues made of bricke & set with pitch in stead of mortar, wrought low within the ground to receaue the violence of þ stream, do exceed all the rest of the works there made: for except the same were of quantity & largenes to receiue the water when the stream floweth ouer the banks that be made to keepe it in, the violence thereof should beare downe þ houses of the Citie. Ther is also ouer þ riuer a stone bridge which ioyneth both parts of the city togethers counted amongest the maruellous workes of the Orient. For by reason that Euphrates is so full of mud and owse, ground can scarcely there be found to lay that foundacion vpon, and the streame besides casteth vp such heaps of sand against the bridge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to passe, and therefore beareth vppon the bridge with greater force, then if it had his free recourse. There is also a castle that is twenty furlongs about the Towers, whereof bee thirtie foote deepe within the ground, and fower score foot in height aboue the ground. Where also the wonders are to bee seene, so often mencioned in the Greeke posies. For in the same bee whole groues of Trees set by wonderfull art aboue the grounde, so high as the toppes

of

of the towers, which bee maruellous beautiful and pleasant through their height and shadow that they make. The whole wrughte of them is susteined and borne by huge Pillers made of stone, vppon which there is a floore of square stone, that both vpholdeth the earth þ lyeth deep vpon the piller, and also the humor wherwith it is watered. The trees that grow thereuppon be of 8. cubits aboute, & as fruitful as if they grew in naturall Earth. And although processe of time is wont by little and litle not onely to destroye thinges made with hand, but also the very workes of nature: yet this worke, for all it is oppressed with þ roots of so many trees, and burdened with þ weighte of so much earth, & of so great a wood: yet remaineth vnperished in any point, being sustained vp with 20. broade walles distant 11. foote one from another. When these trees be seene a farre off, they seeme to bee a wood growing vpon a mountaine. It is saide that a King of Syria reigning in Babilon, builded this worke for his wiues fansie, who for the loue shee had to woodes and shadowye places, mooued her husbande in dooing thereof to counterfait the pleasantnes of nature. Alexãder tarryed longer there then in any other city, which hurted more the discipline of the Macedons in their wars then any other place. For nothing was

more

more corrupt then the maners and customes of the citie, nor any other was more abundantly furnished of all things, wherewith men be allured and stirred to excessiue pleasures. The parents and husbands were contented for gain that their childrē and wiues should haue company with such strangers as came amōgst thē. The Kinges and nobilitie of Persie, delighte much in banqueting pastime, but the Babilonians be spectially geuen thereunto, to wine & to drunkennes, where the Women vse such a custom, that in the beginning of the feast there apparaile seemeth womanly and demure, but afterwards by litle and litle they put off their vpper moste garmentes, and layinge aside all shamefastnes, doo discouer themselues naked. Which vile custome is not vsed by harlots onely, but by them all in generall, which count the making of their bodies common but a ciuilitie and good maner: In this voluptuousnes and abhomination, the conqueror of Asia wallowed by the space of 34. dayes, whereby he became much the weaker to haue wone other enterprises, if hee hadd an enemie to stande against him. But to the intente the hatred of wine he tooke should be the lesse perceiued, he encreased his power with a new supplie of men. For Amyntas the sonne of Andromenes brought him from Antipater 6,

thousand

thousand Macedon footmen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and with them fiue hundred Thracian horsemen, with three thousand fiue hundred footmen of the same nation. He had also out of Peloponese fower thousand footmen, and fower hundred fower score horsemen being mercenarye Souldiers. Amyntas also brought with him fiftie young men of the nobilitie of Macedonia to attend vpon Alexanders person: whose office was to serue the King at meat, and to bring him his horse when he went to battaile. They accustomed to bee about him when he hunted, and kept ẏ watch by course at his Chamber doore. These were they which afterwards prooued great Captaines, and that was the race, out of the which the rulers of their men of warre did come. Alexander appointed Agathon Captaine of the Castle of Babilõ, with seuen hundred Macedons, and three hundred mercenary souldiers, and left Minetas and Appollidorus gouernours, of the Citie and the Countrey, to whom hee assigned two thousande footmen, and a thousand talents, geuing them in commission to wage more Souldiers. Hee made Mazeus that gaue the Citie into his handes, lieutenant of the whole, and caused Bagistenes that yeelded vp the Castle to followe him in his warres, Armenia was geuen to Methrenes

threnes that betrayed the Citie of Sardos, and to encourage his souldier to the enterpri-sing of other things, gaue out of the treasure of Babilon to euery Macedon horseman fiue hundred deniers, to euerye horseman of the straungers fiue hundred, and to euerye foot-man two hundred. When hee had set order in all theſe things, hee came into the countreye called Satrapene, which beeing plentifull of all things and aboundant of victuall, causeth the King to tary the longer there. And least idleues should be any abatement of his mens courages, deuised to stur vp their spirits, and kepe them occupied by appointing Iudges to try out such as had shewed themselues moste valiant in the wars, to whom he assigned re-wards due to their deseruings. Ther were 8. found out, whose dooings appeared aboue the rest, & the charge of a M. mē was committed to euery one of them, & were called *Chiliarchi*: that was the first time they put a M. in a bād: for before the time they wer deuided into 500. which was not counted any great preferment or reward de of seruice. The number of them were greate that came to plead their right in this behalfe, whiche before the Iudges that gaue sentence, brought in testimony of their dooinges: whereby it could not be vnknowen which of them had deserued iustly such honour

of

not. The first place was adiuged to olde Adarchias, for his valiauntnes vsed in the battayle at Alicarnasson, where hee chiefly did resiste againe the fight, when the ponge Souldiers had geuen it ouer. The seconde place of honour was geuen Antigonus, and Philotas. Angeus obteined the thirde: the fowerth was adiudged to Amyntas, the fifth to Antigonus. Amyntas the sonne of Lyncestes obteined the first. Theodorus the seuenth, and Hellanicus the last. Hereuppon to great purpose he altered many thinges that were vsed by his Predecessours in the discipline of warre. For whereas before the horsmen of euery Countrey wer in seuerall bands by themselues, hee without respect of any nacion appointed them such Captaines as hee thought expedient. And whereas at the remouing of the campe warning was accustomed to be geuen by a trompet, the sound whereof in any noise or tumult could not bee sufficiently hearde: he caused an high pole to bee alwaies sette vp before his Pauilion, whereuppon remained a signe apparant to all men. The token that they obserued was fier in the Night, and smoke in the day time. As hee was marching towardes Susa, Abulites that was ruler of the Region, either by Darius commaundemente, thinking by meanes of the

spoile

ſpoile to detein Alexander the longer there, or elſe of his owne free will, ſent his ſonne to meet him, proffering the deliuerie of the city. The yong man was entreated verye gently, and by his conduction Alexander paſſed forwardes, till he came to the riuer of Hydaſpis, which is counted to be a very delicate water. Abulites ther met Alexander with princely and rich giftes, and preſented him amongſt the reſt of other thinges Dromedary Camels that were wonderfull ſwift, with twelue Elephants that Darius had ſent for out of India, to bee a terrour to the Macedons, whiche nowe wee are become an increaſe of their ſtrength. When the riches of the vanquiſhed was come into the victorers hands: he found in that citye an incredible treaſure, fifty thouſand talents of Maſſy ſiluer vncoyned, which riches gathered together in the ſpace of many yeares by diuers Kinges for their ſucceſſion and poſterity, thus in a moment came into the handes of a forreine Prince. Alexander being lodged within the Pallace, did ſit downe in Darius ſeat: which beeing higher then ſerued for his ſtature, by reaſon his feete couldo not reach to the ground: one of the Kings pages put a boord vnderneath for him to treade vpon: at the dooing wherof, one of the Eunuches that belonged to Darius looked beauſly,

nity, and fetched a great sighe, whose sadnes when Alexanders perceiued, he enquired of him the cause. He answered, ꝑ when he beheld ꝑ boord whereupon Darius was wont to eate employed to so base a vse, he could not behold it without great griefe. Alexander beeing therefore ashamed, so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reuerence, caused the same, to be taken away. But Philotas made request he should not so do, but rather take it as a diuinatiõ of his good luck and fortune, ꝑ the table whereupõ his enemy did eat should now becom subiect vnder his feet. Alexãder purposing from thence to passe into Perse, cõmitted the city of Susa to Archilaus with 3000. men of war, & to Zenophilus ꝑ charge of the Castle, leauing such Macedõs as were aged there in garison. But he did betake the keping of the treasure vnto Calicrates, & restored to Abulites the gouernmẽt & principality of the countrey of Susa, leauing within the city Darius mother & his children. And forasmuch as Alexãder had at the same time plenty of cloth of purple sent him out of his countrey, with garments ready made after the Macedons maner: for the honour hee bare to Sisigambis (whõ he had in reuerence as if shee had been his mother) thought good to present part of those to her, with the per-

sons ꝑ vsed to make them: and willed it should be told her if shee liked them, she should accustom her neeces to make the like, & geue them for presentes. At the declaring of which message the teares ran out of her eies, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her: for the Persian women take nothing in more despite, then to put their hands to wooll. When report was made to Alexander, in what sort she had receiued his present, thought both the matter meet to be excused, & her to be comforted. Therefore hee came to visit her, and said:

This garmente which I weare, was both of the gift & making of my sisters: our customes brought me into errour. Therefore I require you, that yee will not take myne ignorance in euil part. I trust that otherwise I haue obserued sufficiently all things which I knew to bee your customes. When I vnderstoode that it was not lawfull amongst you for the sonne to sit in the mothers presence, except she doth geue him leaue: whensoeuer I came into your presence, I would neuer syt till you willed me so to do. You would often times haue fallen downe and worshipped mee, but I would not suffer you: but haue euer honoured you, and geuen you the name due to my sweet mother Olimpiades.

When the King with these wordes had well pacified her, hee departed, and by fower encampinges came vnto a Riuer that the countrey men call Palatigras, which springing in the Mountains of ꝑ Arions, it runneth steepe downe amongst the rocks with woody banks

by

by the space of 50. furlongs: but then descending into a plaine, it becommeth navigable, & so runneth with a more quiet streame, and in a softer ground by the space of 600. furlongs, till such time as it doth enter into the Persian sea. Alexander passing this river with nyne thousand footmen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the mercenarie Greekes, and with 4000. Thracians, came amongest the Arions, whose Countrey is neare unto Susis, & stretcheth out into Persia, leaving betwixt it & Susis a narrow streight. Madates had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man as was rare at that time: for he determined to abide ye extremitie for his duties sake. Such as knew the countrey did enforme Alexander ye there was a private waye through the hilles, wherby he might get to the further most side of the chiefe citie of that countrey: and if hee would send a few that were light armed, they might be brought to a place where they should appeare aboue their Enemies heads. This counsaile liked him so well, that hee made the counsailers guides, & committed the to Tauro, whom he appointed chiefe of the enterprise. He assigned unto him 1500. mercenary Souldiers, and 1000. Agrians, with whom after the Sunne was gone downe, hee entered into his iourney. Alexander in the third watch remo-

ued his campe, & by the spring of the day had passed the streights: there he set his men in hāde to cut down timber for the making of towers & all other such things as pertained to the assault of a city, and so began his siege. It was a difficult matter to make the approch: the city stoode so high, and the rocks gaue such impediment, whereby the souldiers were repulsed, and receiued many hurts, contending both with the enemies, & the situacion of the place: notwithstāding they gaue it not ouer, by reason the king was euer amongst the formost asking of them if they were not ashamed being conquerours of so many cities, to be so long in the winning of a small castle, that was so obscure and vnknowen in the world. As he was trauailing amongst the rest, they did shoote & cast stones at him from the walles: whom the Souldiers defended with their Targets, because they could not remooue him away. At length Tauron appeared aboue the Castle of the Citie: at whose sight the Enemies harts fainted, and the Macedons the more fiercely did assaile them. When they saw themselues in this extremity, and perceiued their power not able to withstand the Macedons, they became of diuers dispositions. For some were determined to die, and many to flye away. But the greater parte retyred them selues into the

castle

castle, from whence they sente vnto Alexander 30. embassadours to aske mercy. But he gaue vnto them a sorrowfull answere, that ther was no parte to be obteined at his hãs: whereuppon they being in doubt of death, and excluded from all other remedies, sent vnto Sisigambis by a priuie way vnknown to their enemies, making their request that she would vouchsafe to bee a mean to Alexander for ꝑ pacifying of his rigoure and wrath towardes them. In her onely they put their hope, knowing how much Alexander loued her and that he esteemed her as if she had been his mother. And they thought shee would the rather encline to their desire, because Madates that was captain ther had maried her sisters daughter, wherby he became akin to Darius. Sisigãbis stood long in denyall of their request, shewing, that it agreed not with her fortune to become an intercessour for others, adding therunto, that she feared lest she might misuse the victorers fauours, and make him wery of her: for shee said that shee had more remembrance ꝑ she was prisoner, thẽ that she was a Queen. But at length shee was ouercome with their sute, and by her letters made intercession vnto Alexander after such a sort, that shee first excused herselfe of her sute making, and after required hym that hee would pardon them,

or at the leaſt waies that he would forgiue her being petitioner but for the life onely of ſuche one, as was her frend and her kinſman, & now no longer any enemy of his maieſty, but in readines to ſubmit himſelfe. This one matter is ſufficient to declare the moderation & clemency that was then in Alexander: for he did not onely pardon Madates, but alſo left the Citie vntouched, graunting to all that were within it both liberty and freedome, with enioyment of their lands and goods, without paying of any tribute, more then that which ſhe could not haue obteined of Darius being her ſon. When he had thus ſubdued the Arions, hee annexed them to the prouince of Suſa, and purpoſing to paſſe forwards, deuided his army into two partes, whereof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conducted by the plain countrey, & reſeruing ſuch a parte as was peſtered leaſt with baggage, took the way of the mountains, which with a continuall ridge, runneth out in length from thence into Perſe. In his paſſage he deſtroyed all the mountaine Countrey, arryuing the third day in the bounds of Perſia. The 5. day he entred into the ſtreights of Pilae Suſidae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with 15000. footmen, who keeping the toppes of the high and ſteepe rockes, that ſtonge ouer on both ſides the waye, at the firſt

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kept themselues quiet of purpose, pretending a feare, vntill such time as the Army was entred into the narrowest of the streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwards in their contempt, thē they threw down great stones vpon them: which falling vpon the nethermost rockes, and there breaking in peeces, rebounded among the Macedons, falling with such violence, that they distressed whole bands at once. And besides they did them great domage with shot of arrowes, & stones that they did cast out of slings. Such as were men of courage were not so much greeued with the death and destruction that they saw there present, as that they should be slaine after such a maner like beasts caught in a pit, where as they could not be reuenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath hereupon was turned into such a rage and woodnes, that they ran vp against the rockes, and there enforced themselues by taking hold, and by heauing vp one of another, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they had caught hold vpon some outward part, and thereby laboured to ascend, by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once: they pulled a sunder the thing they held by, and so fell downe all togethers. In this case they could neither remaine,

paſſe forwards, nor yet defend themſelues by any deuiſe they could make with their targets, ſeeing the ſtones were of ſuch weight that were throwne downe vpon them. Alexander was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the griefe he receiued by the deſtruction of his men, but much more for the ſhame that he had ſo raſhly brought his armie into ſuch a daungerous ſtreight. He had bin inuincible before that daye, and neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had paſſed the ſtreights of Cilicia without domage, and opened to himſelf a new way by ſea into Pamphilia, which felicitie of his ſeemed to be at a ſtay, and plucked backe: for he could perceiue no other remedie, then to returne by the way he came. He cauſed the retreit therefore to be blowne, and gaue order to his ſouldiours to go cloſe together, and by caſting their targets ouer their heads returne back againe, after they had marched xxx. furlongs within the ſtreight. When he was returned, & had pitched his campe in an open ground, conſulting what was beſt to do: ſuch a ſuperſtition entred into his minde, that he called for the prieſts and diuiners to helpe the matter by their inuocation. But Ariſtander to whome he gaue moſt confidence, could do nothing in that caſe. Alexander therefore condemning

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their sacrifices which hee thought then doone out of time, called for such as knew the countrey. They shewed him of another way that was plaine and open inough. but yet he liked it not: hee was so ashamed to leaue his Souldiours vnburyed that were slaine. For amongst all other ceremonies obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kept, then the burying of the dead. Hee caused therefore such prisoners as were lately taken, to be called before him: amongest whom there was one expert both of the Greeke and Persian tongue, which shewed to the king that he laboured in vaine, if he thought to conueye his armie ouer the tops of those mountaines, which (he said) began at mount Caucasus, and closed in the one side of Perse, by the space of M. vi. C. furlongs in length, and CXI. in breadth till such time as they come vnto the Sea, which also encloseth the countrey from the place where the mountaines ceased. The countrey lying at the foote of the mountaines, he described to be plaine, fruitefull, and replenished with manye faire cities and Villages, and that the Riuer of Araxes running thorough the same, falleth into another riuer called Medus, bringing with it the waters of many small streames. Which riuer of Medus being much lesse then

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the same which it dooth receiue, runneth from thence toward the South sea. No place could be more abundant of grasse: for euery where neare vnto the water, the ground was couered ouer with flowers. The riuer was shadowed ouer with Platine & Popler trees, which by reason they stand somewhat high, and the water runneth lowe in a deepe chanell, seeme to such as be a far, to be woods adioyning to the mountaines. He counted no countrey in al Asia to be more holsome, or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both by reason of shadowy mountaines that euermore defendeth the heate, and also of the Sea, which on that part being at hand with a certaine temperature dooth nourish the ground. When the prisoner had made a description of the countrey after this manner, the king enquired of him whether he knew those things by report, or els had seen them with his eyes. He said that he had beene an hearoman, and knewe the countrey verye well, and all the passages. And that he had bin twise taken prisoner: once by the Persians in Licia, and now the second time by him. Upon those words Alexander called an Oracle to memory, whereby it was signified to him that a Lictan should bee his guide into Persia. Wherefore promising to him such rewardes as the present necessitie required, and as his

estate

eſtate was meet to receiue, willed him to bee armed after the Macedons manner, and to be their guide to ſhewe them the way. Which though hee had declared to be but ſtreight and difficulty: yet Alexander put no no doubt to paſſe it with a ſmall number: thinking it an eaſie matter to paſſe the place for glory & perpetuall cõmendation that the heardman had paſſed often times in feeding of his Beaſtes. Then the Priſoner left not to alledge the difficulties of the way, ſpecially for ſuch as were armour: but the King ſaid to him, take me for ſurety that neuer one of them that be appointed thee ſhall refuſe to goe where thou ſhalt paſſe. That done hee left Craterus with the charge of his Campe, and he himſelfe paſſed forwards with ſuch footmen as were accuſtomed to his perſon with thoſe bands of whom Meleager had charge, and with a thouſande Archers on horſebacke, taking firſt order with Craterus, that hee ſhould keepe his campe in ſuch fourme as it had beene vſed before, and cauſe many fires to be made of purpoſe, that the enemies might the rather thinke him to be there ſtill preſent: he aduiſed him further that if hee perceiued Ariobarzanes to get knowledge of his enterprize, and ſo to ſend parte of his power to the ſtopping of his paſſage, that hee by pretending of an aſſault he ſhould ſhew

all

all the terrour he could to drawe his enemies from him to the defence of that place. But if that he himselfe should deceiue his enemies, and recouer the hill vpon them, that then vpon the hearing of the alarum in the Persies campe preparing themselues to his resistance, he should not doubt to passe that waye from which they were repulsed the day before, iudging they should finde no resistance, the enemies being conuerted towards him. In the third watch he set forwardes in great silence, without blowing of trumpet, and passed on by such waye as was shewed him by the guide, euery souldier that was light armed carying three daies victaile. But when he was on his way, besides the wilde rocks and sharpe stones that caused them oft to faile their footing, the snowe also driuen with the wind, was a great impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell diuers times downe into pits, and such as coueted to pull them out, were oft times drawne after. The night also with the countrey vnknowne, and the guide of whose fidelitie they doubted, encreased much their feare: considering that if they should not deceiue their enemyes watche, they should bee taken like beastes. They waied also that both their safegarde and the kings lay in the hands of one that was a prisoner. At length they came

same to a Mountaine, where as the way towards Ariobarzanes lay on the right hande. Then he sent before by the guiding of such as they had taken Prisoners, Philotas, Cenon, Amintas, and Policarpon with a bande of the lightest armed, whom he aduised that for as much as they had both horsmen & footmen, and the countrey fertil and abounda nt of fodder: that they shoulde make no hast, but passe forwards faire and easily. And he with the esquiers of his bodye, and the band of horsemen that they called Agema, was guied by another by path, farre off from the place where his Enemies kepte their watch. But the passage was so straight and so hollowe, that they suffered greate trouble and veration in passing thereof. It was midday, and they were so wearied, that of necessitye they must take rest, hauinge so farre to goe, and as they had trauelled alreadye, sauing that the way was not so difficult nor so rough. He refreshed therfore his men with meat and with sleepe, and in the second watch did rise vp and passed the rest of his iourney without any great difficulty, sauinge in that parte where the mountaine began to fail a slope towards the plaine, theyr passage was sodaynly stopped by a greate gul made with violence of the Streames that raine downe the Mountaines, by wearing away

away of the earth. And besides the trees standing so thicke, and the bowes that grewe one within another, appeared before them as a continuall hedge. Then they saw themselues stayed after this manner, such desperation fell amongest them, that they could scarsly abstein from teares: the darknes beeing a greate increase of their terroure, seeing they could not enioy any benefite of the Starres. For if any gaue light, the same was taken awaye by the shadow of the trees. And the vse of the eares could not serue for one to receiue counsell and comforte at another, the winde whistled so amongst the leaues, and the shaking of ꝑ bowes made such a noise. But at length ꝑ day which they so much desired, diminished with his light the terrours that the darkenes of the night did make. For by fetching of a litle compas about they passed the hollow gull, and euery mã began to be a guide. Finallye, they got vp in the top of the hill, from whence they might behold their enemies lying in campe. Then the Macedons shewed themselues stoutly in their armour appearing sodainlye on their backes, when they mistrusted no such thing, and there slew such as came first to encounter with them. So that on the one part the greeuous noise of them that were slain, and the miserable shout of such as came in for succour amongest their

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owne company, put the reſt to flight without making any reſiſtance. When the alarme was once heard in the campe where Craterus lay, the armie by and by paſſed forwardes to goe through the ſtreights, in the which they were repulſed the day before. Philotas alſo with Polipecron, Cenos, and Amintas, which were gone the other way: arriued at the ſame time, and gaue a further terrour vnto their enemies. When the Perſians ſaw their enemies aſſailing in al parts at once, though they were ſo oppreſt with their ſoddaine inuaſion that at the firſt they were in doubt what to do: yet at length they aſſembled together, and fought notably, neceſſitie ſtirring vp the faultines of their hearts: for oftentimes diſpaire is cauſe of mens good hope. They being vnarmed, cloſed with them that were armed, and with the weight of their bodies pulled their enemies to the earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons. Artobarzanes with fortie horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen that kept about his perſon, brake through the battaile of the Macedons, to the greatſt aughter both of his owne men and of his enemies, and by making of hall, recouered Perſepolis the chiefe citie of the countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by ſuch as were within, he retired againe the ſight with ſuch as were

with

with him and so was slain: by that time Craterus that made all the speede he could deuise was come vnto them, and Alexander fortified his campe in the same place, where he did discomfit his enemies. For though they were all fled and he certaine of the victorye, yet because he founde his way stopped in many places with greate and deepe diches, hee thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer great hast: not so much for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the grounde, which he saw apt for thē to lay ambushments against him. As he was passing forwards, he receiued letters from Tiridates the keper of Darius treasure, signifying ỳ the inhabiters of Persepolis hearing of his comming, were about to spoile the treasure, and that therefore he should make hast to preuent the matter, for the way was ready ynough, notwithstanding that the riuer of Araxes was in his way. There was no vertue in Alexander more commendable then his celerity, which hee shewed specially in this matter: for leauing his footmen behind, he trauailed all night with his horsmen and by the day light came to the riuer of Araxes, there he found villages at hande, whereof the timber broken downe off the houses, they made a Bridge in a momente, by the helpe of stones which were layde in the bottome of the

riuer

riuer. When Alexander was passed the riuer, and came neere vnto the citie, a company met him so miserable, as seeldome haue been found in any memory: the same were Greeks, to the number of fower thousand, whom the Persians before time had taken prisoners, and afflicted with dyuers kindes of torments. For of them some had their feet cut off, some their hands, and other their ears, but all were marked in the flesh with hot yrons. The Persiãs hauing maimed and deformed them after this manner kept and reserued them stil, as a memory of the despite towards the nacion. But when they saw that they shoulde become vnder the obedience of another prince, they suffred the Greekes to meet Alexander. They appeared rather to bee the Images of some strange monsters, then of men: for nothinge could be discerned, or knowẽ in them but their voice. The compassion of their wretched estate, caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares then they did themselues. For it could not appeare which of them were most miserable, though their afflictions were diuers. But when they had cryed out before Alexander, that Iupiter the reuenger of Greece had opened their eies in beholding him that should deliuer them, they iudged then all their griefes as one. Alexander wiped the tears from his

eyes, and willed them to be of good cheare, for that they sheulde both see their countrey and their friends, and he encamped in the same place where he met them, being ta o furlongs from *Persepolis*. The Greekes drue themselues together to consult what was best for them to demaund of Alexander, and when some were of opinion to aske dwelling places within *Asia*, and other had more mynd to returne vnto their countreys: Entimeon Cimeus spake thus vnto them.

Wee that were euen now ashamed to put our heads out of the prison and darknes we were in, to make sure for our owne ayd and relefe, are become of such symplicitie, that we presently desyre to shew vnto Greece as a pleasant spectable our infirmities and maymes, wherof we haue as much cause to be ashamed, as to be sorowful. You must thinke that such beare their miseries best, which can finde the meanes to hide them most, and that there is none so familier a countrey to men that be vnfortunate, as solitarines and forgetfulnes of their former estate. For they which make an accompt of their friendes pitie and compassion, know not how soone their teares will dry vp: no creatures can loue faithfully whom they abhorre. For as calamitie of his nature is quarelous, so felicitie is alwayes proude, and euery one doth vse to consyder his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of another mans: For except we had all bin in miserie, one of vs long ago had bin wery of another. What maruaile is it then though men in felicitie

seeke

ſeeke alwayes their equalles? Mine opinion is therefore that we (as men which long ago were as dead in this life) ſeeke vs a place wherein wee may hide our maimed members, and where as exile may hide our horrible ſcarres. If wee ſhall returne into our countrey, being in this caſe, how can we but be vngratefull to our wiues whome we maryed young? Or ſhall our children or our brethren acknowledge vs beeing priſon ſlaues? and though all things ſhould there ſucceede as wee would wiſh, yet how ſmall a number of vs be able to trauaile through ſo many countries? How is it poſſible for vs that be here baniſhed into the vttermoſt boundes of the Orient, aged, impotent, and maimed, to ſuffer thoſe things which haue tyred men, that were in force and victorious? It is to bee asked what ſhall beecome of our wyues, whome chance and neceſſitie hath gotten vnto vs heere for the only comfort of our priſonment? What ſhall we do with our children we haue begotten here, take them with vs, or leaue them behind vs? If we returne with ſuch as we haue here, none of thoſe in Greece wil acknowledge vs: and ſhal we then be ſo mad to leaue thoſe comforts we haue already, being vncertaine, whether we ſhall come to thoſe we ſeeke or no? Verely much better it were for vs, to hide our ſelues amongſt them which haue bin aquainted with vs in our miſerie.

**These were Entymeon his wordes: But Thentus of *Athens* reasoned to the contrary.**

There is no creature (quod he) in whom remaineth any ſparke of honeſtye, that will eſteeme vs by our outward ſhape, ſeeing that our calamitie

is not come of nature, or by our owne deſeruing, but through misfortnne, and our enemies cruelti. Such as bee aſhamed of fortunes chaunces, are well worthy to ſuffer miſaduenture. They geue a greuous ſentence vpon the eſtate of mans mortalitie, and diſpaire much of mercy, that denye their compaſſion to men in miſerie. Now therefore ſince the Gods haue offered to you the thing which ye durſt neuer haue wiſhed for: that is, your countrey, your wyues, and your children, being the things which men eſteeme more then life, and redeeme often times with death: why do you doubt for the enioyment of thoſe things to breake out of this impriſonment? I iudge the ayre of our owne countrey moſt naturall to vs, where me thinkes is another maner of liuing, other cuſtomes, other religion, and another tongue, which for the pleaſantnes is coueted of the barbarous nations. What great things then be thoſe that ye would willingly leaue, the want of which only is the cauſe of your miſery? My opinion is playne, that we viſit our countrey and our home, and not refuſe ſo great a benefite as Alexander hath profered vs. If any be ſo deteined with the loue of ſuch wiues and children as they haue gotten heere in ſeruitude, let ſuch be no impediment to others, that of all things eſteeme moſt their naturall countrey.

There were but fewe of his opinion: for cuſtome that is of greater force than nature, preuailed in that matter. They agreed to demaund of Alexander the gift of ſome place to inhabit in, and there choſe out an hundred to be ſuters vnto him in that behalfe. When

Alexander

Alexander perceyued them comming towardes him, thinking that they would haue required the thing that he conceyued in his mynde sayd:

I haue appoynted to euery one of you (quoth he) beasts to cary you, and a thousand Deniers, and when you shall come to Greece, I wil so much prouide for you, that excepting your misfortune, no other shall thinke themselues in better case then you.

But when he saw them looke still towards the ground, and that they neyther lifted vp their eyes, nor spake one word, he enquired the cause of their heauines. Then Entymeon rehearsed againe those things in effect which he had spoken before in counsaile. The King therefore pitying no lesse their demannd, then he did their misfortune, commaunded iii. M. deniers to be giuen to euery one of them, and garments besides, with cattell and corne, whereby they might till and sow the land that should be appointed vnto them. The next day he assembled all the Captaines of his army togethers, and shewed them that there was no Citie more enemy to the Greekes, then the same that was the chiefe seate of the auncient Kings of Perse, from whence al the great armies had bin sent into Greece: and how Darius first and after Xerxes had come out of that place to moue their vniust warre

against *Europe*, with the destruction of which citie, he thought good to reuenge their predecessours. The inhabiters had abandoned the citie, and fledde where feare did driue them. Whereupon the king streightwayes brought in all his footemen to the spoile thereof. He had before that time woon many cities: some by force, & some by composition, that were ful of riches, & princes treasure. But the abundance of that citie did exceed all the rest, as in the place where the *Persians* had layd their whole substance. Golde and siluer was there found in heapes, and great plenty of rich vestures and furniments of houses, not only for necessitie & necessary vse, but for excesse and ostentation: which was so great, that it gaue the victorers occasion to fight amongst themselues, each taking other for enemies that had gotten ỹ richest spoile. The plenty there was such, that they could not employ to their vse the riches they founde, but when they sawe things of value, esteemed them rather then tooke them away: till such time as euery one coueting to haue a part of euery thing, tare & brake asunder the princely robes, & the precious plate of curious workmanship, with the images of golde & siluer, which were either beaten in gobets, or plucked in peeces, as euery one caught holde: nothing was left vntouched,

touched, nor nothing caried away whole: cruelty bearing no lesse rule there then couetousnes, euery one was so loaden with golde and siluer, that they esteemed not the keping of prisoners, but killed such as they first spared in hope of gaine. There were many therefore ꝑ preuented their enemies hãds with voluntary death, & diuers ꝑ clothing themselues in their most precious apparell, leaped down from the walls with their wiues & children. Certaine there were that set their owne houses on fire, (which they iudged their enemies would else haue done shortly after) because they would burne thẽselues amongst their owne family. At length the K. did forbid any violence to be done to women, & that no man should meddle with any thing pertaining to them. The sum of money taken within this citie, was greater then any man could well credite: but eyther we must doubt of the rest, or else beleeue that hath bin left in memory, how that ꝑ treasure there found, amounted to a C. and xx. M. Talents: which treasure, because Alex. purposed to employ in his wars, caused horse & camels be brought frõ *Susis* & *Babilon* to cary ꝑ same. The taking of the Citie of *Persagadis*, wherein was found vi. M. talents, was an increase to this sum, which citie being built by Cyrus, was yelded vp by Gobares ꝑ had the

keping thereof. Alexander left in the Caſtle of *Perſepolis* iii. M. Macedons in guariſon, vnder Nicarides Captayne of the ſame, and reſerued to Tiridates that deliuered him the treaſure, the ſame honour that hee enioyed with Darius. Leauiug in this citie the greater part of his army, with his cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio & Craterus: he with a M. horſemen, and a band of footemen, without any baggage, went to viſit in the winter ſeaſon the inward parts of *Perſe*. There hee was vexed and troubled with ſtormes & tempeſts that were in maner intolerable: but yet he letted not to go forwards in his enterpryſe to the place that he appoynted. In his iourney he came vnto a countrey that was couered all with ſnowe, and froſen by force of the great colde. The wildenes and deſert maner thereof, put the ſouldiers that were wery with trauaile in ſuch a feare and terrour, that they imagined to haue ſeene the vttermoſt bounds of the world. For when they beheld all things waſte, and no ſigne appearing of mans habitacion, they were amaſed, and made requeſt to returne againe, before that the light & the elements ſhould fayle them. The King would not chaſtiſe them being in his terrour, but leaped from his horſe, & went on foote in the ſnow and the yce: Which thing when his

friends

friends sawe, they could not for shame but folowe: then the capitaines did the like, and finally the souldiers. The king was the first that did breake the yce and made himselfe a waye, whose ensample the rest did folow: At length hauing passed the woods that were without waye, they founde here and there some appearance of habitation, and perceyued flockes of sheepe. When the inhabitoures that dwelled in cottages disparkled thereabouts sawe men comming, whome they iudged to be their enemies, thinking they had beene enclosed about, slew such as were not able to folow them, and fled to the wilde mountaines that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with such as they tooke prisoners, their wildenesse was somewhat mitigated, and they yeelded themselues to Alexander, whome he hurted not any kinde of waye. When he had destroyed all that parte of Perse, and brought the townes vnder his obedience: he came into the countrey of the warlike Mardons, which differ much from the rest of the other Persians in their manner of liuing. They with their wiues and children did inhabite within caues in the mountaines, and liued with the flesh of sheepe, and wilde beasts. Nor the women according to their kinde had any more appearance of meekenesse or mildenesse then the men, either in their perso-

perſonages or diſpoſitions. But their curled heare did hang down before vpon their faces, and their garments came but to their knee. The bandes of their Slings were fillets for their foreheads, which they vſed both for ornament, and for defence. This nation for all their vnciuill and rude maner, could not eſcape to be ſubdued with the ſame force of fortune that others were. So that the xxx. day after he departed from Perſepolis, he returned thither againe. Then he gaue rewards to his friends, and to all the reſt according to their deſeruing, diſtributing in manner all the riches which he found within that Citie. But all his excellent vertues of the minde, his princelye qualities, wherein he excelled all kings, both that conſtancie in all daungers & perils, that celeritie in deuiſing and performing his enterpriſes, his promiſe keeping towards the yelden, his clemencie towards priſoners, & that temperaunce in lawfull and accuſtomable pleaſures, were all defaced through the intollerable deſire and delight he had in drinking. For notwithſtanding that his enemie which contended with him for the empire did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his power together: and although the people newly conquered, had not yet receiued quiet ſubiection: yet he gaue himſelfe continually

nually to feasting and banqueting, where women were euer present, not such to whome men had respect of honesty, but harlots, which had there more libertie, then was beseeming in the company of men of war. Amongst thē there was one Thais, who vpon a day in her dronkennes, affirmed to Alexander, that he shou'd wonderfully winne the fauour of the Greekes, if he would commaund the palaice of *Persepolis* to be set on fire. The destruction whereof (she sayd) they greatly desired, for so much as the same was the chiefe seate of the kings of *Perse*, which in times past had destroyed so many great Cities. When the dronken harlot had giuen her sentence, there were other present, who being likewise dronken, confirmed her words. Alexander then that had in him more inclination of heate then of patience, said: Why do we not then reuēge Greece, and set this citie on fire? They were all chafed with drinking, and rose immediatly vpon those words to burne that citie in their dronkennes, which the men of warre had spared in their fury. The king himselfe first, and after his geastes, his seruants, and his concubynes set fyer in the palaice, which beeing builded for the most part of Ceder trees, became sodainly in a flame. When the army þ was encamped neere vnto the citie saw þ fire

which

which they thought had beene kindled by some casualtie, came running to quench the same againe. But when they saw the king there present nourishing the fire, they powred downe the water which they brought, and helped likewise the matter forwards. Thus the Palace that was the head of the whole Orient, from whence so many nations before had fetched their lawes to liue vnder, the seate of so many kinges, the onely terrour sometime of Greece, the same that hath beene the sender forth of the Nauies of ix. M. ships, and of the armies that ouerflowed all Europe, that made bridges ouer the Sea, & vndermined mountains where the Sea hath now his course: was consumed and had his end, and neuer rose againe in all the age that did ensue. For the kings of Macedon vsed other cities, which be now in the Persians hands. The destruction of this citie was such, that the foundation thereof at this day could not be found, but that the riuer of Araxes dooth shew where it stood, which was distant from Persepolis xx. furlong, as the inhabitants rather do beleeue then know. The Macedons were ashamed that so noble a citie was destroyed by their king in his drunkennes: yet at length it was turned into an earnest matter, and were content to thinke it expedient that the citie should haue beene destroyed

after

after that manner. But it is certaine, that whē Alexander had taken his rest, and was become better aduised, he repented him of his dooing and said: That the Persians should haue doone the Greekes more harme, if it had beene his chaunce to haue raigned in Zerxes steed. The next day he gaue xxx. Talents for a reward to him that was his guide into Perse, and from thence he tooke his iourney into Media, where a new supplye of Souldiours (of whom Plato of Athens had the conduction) came to him out of Cilicia, being v. C. footemen and a thousand horsemen. When he had by this meanes encreased his power, he determined to pursue Darius, who was come to Ecathana the head citie of Media, and was purposed from thence to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be preuented by the speed his enemyes made, altered his purpose and his iourney. Alexander was not come neere him by a M. v. C. furlongs, but he could not thinke any distance sufficient to defend him against his celeritie, and therefore prepared himselfe rather to fight then to flie. He had with him xxx. M. footemen, amongst whom there were iiii. M. Greekes whose fidelitie neuer fayled in all his aduerse fortune. He had also iiii. M. Archers and Slingers, besides iii. M. iii. C. Bactrian horsemen, which were vnder Bessus

charge

charge being gouernour both of the citie of *Bactria* and the countrey. Darius with his bande withdrewe a little from the high way, and commaunding the berlets, with such as had charge of the cariage to passe on before, called a Counsaile, and spake these wordes vnto them.

If fortune had matched me with cowards, and with such as esteemed any kinde of life before an honest death, I woulde rather haue holden my peace, then consumed my words in vaine. But I haue had greater experience then I would wish, both of your valyant courage and fidelitie towards mee. So that I for my part ought rather labour to seeme worthy to haue such friends as you are, then to doubt whether yee yet remayne the same men towards me that ye were before. For of so many thousands that were vnder mine empire, you only haue folowed and sticked by me, when I was twyse ouerthrowne in the fielde, and twyse enforced to flye awaye. Your fidelitie and youre constancye maketh me thinke that I remayne still a King. Traytours and fugitiues reigne in my Cities, not for that they be thought worthy of such honour, but that you might be prouoked by their rewards to reuolt against mee. Notwithstanding, you haue chosen rather to follow mee in my misfortune, then be partakers of the victorers felicitie. You are worthy, whome the Gods shall reward, if I may not, as vndoubtedly they will: There can no posteritie be so sylent, nor no fame so vngratefull, which shall not with due commendations extoll you to the starres. Though I was determi-

determined ſtill to haue fiedde, wherevnto my heart neuer agreed: yet now I haue conceyued ſuch a truſt of your vertue and manhood, that I purpoſe to paſſe againſt mine enemyes. How long ſhall I bee as a baniſhed man within mine owne dominion, and flye from a ſtraunge and a foreine Prince within the boundes of mine owne Kingdome? When I may hazarding of the battaile, eyther recouer that I haue loſt, or elſe dye an honeſt death? Except peraduenture it ſeemeth better to ſome men, that I ſhould ſubmit my ſelfe to mine enemyes will, and by the example of Mazeus and Mithrenes, receyue by peticion the dominion of ſome one nacion: wherein I iudge that Alexander had rather followe the inclination of his glory then of his wrath. No let the gods neuer graunt that it may lye in any mans power, eyther to take away, or geue vnto me this Diademe vppon my head, nor that I loſe this Empire ſo long as I haue breath. For in this I am determined, that my life and my Kingdome ſhall ende both together. If this minde remayne likewiſe in you, and if this lawe bee graffed in your heartes, there is none of you that can want libertie, there is none that ſhall bee compelled to endure the yrkeſomnes of your enemies, neyther their proud port, nor their ſtately lookes. Euery mans right hande ſhall then geue vnto himſelfe eyther a reuenge, or an ende of all theſe euils. Nothing can ſtande long in one ſtay. I my ſelfe am example of the alteration of fortune: & therfore it is not with out cauſe that I looke for a better change. And if the worſt fall, that the gods will needes be againſt vs in our wars that be lawfull & honeſt, yet it can not be taken from vs, but that we may alway manfully & honeſtly die, I require & make interceſſion

to

to you by the honor of our predeceſſors, that with ſuch fame and glory poſſeſſed the kingdoms of the whole Orient, by thoſe men to whome Macedon ſomtime was tributary, by ſo many nauies of ſhips ſent into Greece, and by ſo many victories wonne, that ye will take ſuch courage and hart vnto you, as may ſeeme worthy your nobilitie and your nation. So that with the ſame conſtancie of minde wherewith yee haue endured things paſt, yee will prooue and attempt whatſoeuer fortune ſend to hereafter. I am reſolued for my part to get my ſelf perpetual fame either by the victory, or by the notable aduenture I will giue for the winning therof.

**When Darius had ſpoken theſe words, the repreſentation of the preſent perill ſo maſed the all, that they were not able to ſhew their aduice, or to ſpeake a word to the matter, till ſuch time as Artabazus the moſt auncient of his friends (which before time had been with king Philip) began to ſay his fantaſie.**

We are come into the field (quod he) with you that is our King, in our moſt precious apparell, and richeſt armour, with the intent to winne the victorie: and if neceſſitie require, not to refuſe death.

**To whoſe wordes all the reſt with their voice ſeemed to agree ſauing Nabarzanes, who being preſent in that councell with Beſſus, and of his opinion, conſpires a treaſon ſo woonderfull, that the like hath ſildome bin heard of before. Their determination was by force of the Souldiers they had vnder their charge, to put their king in holde, with this purpoſe, that if**

Alex-

Alexander pursued them, to deliuer him then aliue into his hands to win thereby his fauour, as a thing which they thought hee would esteeme greatly. But if they could escape conuenientlỹ, then they were in minde to kill Darius, and deuiding the kingdome betwixt them, renue againe the war against the Macedons. They hauing imagined this treason long before in their mindes, Nabarzanes thought this an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent, by a perswasion which he there vttered.

I know (quod he) that I shall speake the thing which in the first appearance shall not be gratefull vnto your eares: but Phisycions vse to cure diseases that be great, with sharp and bitter medicines. And the ship masters when they feare a shipwrack, accustome to redeeme such things as may be saued, with the destruction and losse of the rest. Yet this matter that I meane is no perswasion to losse, but a deuise by what meanes yee may preserue your self & your kingdom. We make a warre wherein the gods seeme manifestly to be against vs, and fortune ceaseth not obstinately to pursue vs. It is needfull therfore that we lay new foundations, and seeke out men which haue other fortune. My opinion is therefore, that you deliuer vp your kingdome vnto some mans hands which shall haue the name of king, so long as your enemies remain within Asia. And when they be once departed (which my minde giueth me to be shortly) he shall restore the same vnto you againe. The countrey of Bactria is yet vntouched, the Indians

and Sacans bee at your appoyntment, ſo many people, ſo many armyes, ſo many thouſands of horſemen & fotemen haue their force in redynes to renue this war againe. So that a much greater force remayneth then that which is conſumed. Why do wee then like beaſts wilfully run to a deſtruction that is not neceſſary? It is the property of ſuch as bee men of courage, rather to deſpiſe death then hate the life, and oftentimes by werines of trauaile, cowards are driuen to take little regard of themſelues. But vertue leaueth nothing vnproued. And death being the end of all thing, it is ſufficient if we go not to it like ſluggards. Therfore if wee ſhall go vnto Bactria which is now our next refuge, let vs for the times ſake make Beſſus King, who is alreadi ruler of that countrey, and when the matters be once brought to ſome ſtay, he ſhall reſtore to you the Empire againe, as to the righteous King.

Although Darius perceiued not the greatnes of the miſchief that lay hidden vnder his wicked words, yet was it no maruaile though he could not abſtaine, for he turned towards him and ſayd:

Thou vyle ſlaue, haſt thou now found out a tyme meet to diſcloſe the treaſon that lieth in thy hart? and therewithall pulled out his ſword to haue ſlaine him, if Beſſus and the other Bactrians about him had not letted his purpoſe. Theſe pretended to be ſory for the matter, but minded in very deed to bind him, if he had cõtinued in his purpoſe. In the meane ſeaſon Nabarzanes eſcaped away, and Beſſus followed after,

after, who immediatly did seperate the bands they had charge of, from the rest of the army, because they would vse them a part to their purpose. When they were departed, Artabazus framed his talke according to the estate of the time then present, and began to pacifye Darius with words, putting him in remembrance how his case was such that it behoued him to beare quietly the folishnes or rather ỹ errour of his own men, forasmuch as Alexander was at hande ouer sore an enemy for them, though there were no discord nor disobedience. But if we shalbe at variance (q he) when he doth pursue vs, our matters shal stād in very euil plight. Thereupon Darius enclined somwhat to Artabasus aduise, & though he was minded to remoue, yet because he perceiued euery man to be troubled in minde, remained stil in the same place. But he himselfe was so astonyed with sorrow & desperacion, that he kept himselfe close & came not forth of his pauilion: whereupō the camp being without gouernment, the heads not consulting together as they did before, there arose amōgst them great diuersitie of opinions, & mocions of mind. Which thing when Patron saw, that was Captaine of the Greeke souldiers, hee willed his men to put on their armour, to be in a redines to do as they should be apointed.

The Persians encamped by themselues, and Bessus remained amongst the Bactrians, practising to carry away the Persians into Bactria, and to leaue Darius: signifieng to them the richesse of that region yet vntouched, & the perill they were in, if they remained still. But they were all in manner of one opinion, that it was euer great an offence for them to forsake their prince. In the meane season Artabasus executed the kings office, & went amongst the Persians in their lodgings, admonishing and exhorting them, somtime apart, and other while altogethers, and would neuer leaue them, before it appeared that they would do as the king would haue them. That done with great paine and difficultie he perswaded Darius to take his meat, and to set his minde vpon his busines. But Bessus and Nabarzanes were so greedy to get the gouernement into their hands, that they resolued to put in execution the thing they had long conspired betwixt them. For so long as Darius was in sauegard, they could not hope to compasse nor attcine so great power and authoritie: the maiestie of a King is had in so great veneration amongst those nations: at whose onely name they assemble together, and the reuerence vsed to them in their prosperitie, cause men to shew them the

like

like obedience in aduersitie. The greatnes & power of the countries whereof Bessus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not being inferior to any other nations in that part of the world, either in men, in furniture, or largenes of their territorie, gaue a great encourage vnto their wicked dispositions in attempting of this matter. For they possessing the third part of Asia, were able to make as great number of men, as Darius before had lost. In confidence wherof they not onely despised Darius, but Alexander himselfe, purposing when they were once become Lordes of that countrey, to reenforce from thence againe the power of the Empire, & maintaine the wars against the Macedons. When they had long deuised and debated these things, they determined to take Darius by the Bactrian souldiers, of whom they had the rule, and then to send word to Alexander that they reserued them on liue, to deliuer him vnto his handes. And if so be that Alexander should not accept their dooing, which indeed they doubted, then their purpose was to kill Darius, and with their power to flee into Bactria. But forsomuch as they saw that Darius could not be taken openly, seeing there were so many thousands ready to aide him: and fearing also the fidelity of the Greekes, determined to

worke by sleight, the thing that they could not bring to passe by force. Their deuise was to counterfeit a repentance of their former doings, in excusing vnto the king the feare they were in. And in the meane season they sent certaine to practise with the Persians, and to proue their mindes. The souldiers were tossed too and fro with hope and feare. Sometime they thought that by leauing of their K. they should commit themselues to manifest ruine and destruction: & againe they remembred what entertainement was promised thē in Bactria that lay open for them, where they should be receaued with such gifts and riches as they could not well imagine. Whiles Bessus and Nabarzanes were beating of these things in their heads, Artabasus came vnto them, declaring how Darius was well pacified, and that they might if they would, be in the same estate and degree with him that they were in before. Thereupon they fall to weeping and purging of themselues, requiring Artabazus that he would take vpon him the defence of their cause, and carrie their request and submission vnto the king. The night was consumed in this kinde of business. When it was daye Nabarzanes with the Bactrian souldiers stoode at the entrey of the kings lodging, colouring his priuie treason with a

solemne

solemne pretence of doing his dutie. Darius caused warning to be giuen for his remoone, and so mounted vpon his chariot after his accustomed manner. Nabarzanes and the other traitors fell vpon the ground to worship him, and shed teares in token of repentance, notwithstanding that they determined shortlye after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so apt to dissimulation. Darius being of a simple and gentle nature, was enforced through their behauiour not onely to beleeue that they pretended, but also caused him to weepe for ioye: yet that could not cause the traitors to alter their purpose, when they perceiued what kind of man, and what manner of Prince they went about to deceiue. Darius doubting nothing of his perrill that was nexte at hande, made all the hast he could to escape Alexander, whom he onely doubted. Patron that was capitaine of the Grecians, commaunded his souldiers to put on theyr harneys, which they carried before in trusses, and to be ready and attend to euery thing that should be appointed them. For he vnderstanding the treason ỳ Bessus went about, followed the kings chariot, seeking occasion to speake with him. And Bessus doubting the same thing, would not depart frō the chariot, but followed rather as a watch, then a waiter. Patron therefore

hauing tarryed long, and interrupted oftentimes as he was about to speake, stood in a stay betwixt feare and fidelitie, beholding the king in the face. When Darius perceiued that he beheld him after that manner, he willed Bubace his Eunuche that rode next him to enquire of Patron if he had any thing to say to him. Patron sayd yea: but his matter was such as he would no man should heare. Then he was willed to come neere, and without any interpretour (Darius vnderstanding somewhat of the Greeke tongue) Patron sayd vnto him.

Sir, of fiftie thousand Greekes that serued you, there is a small number of vs remaining which haue continually followed you in all fortunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that we did in your most florishing estate. And are determined whersoeuer you be, to take that for our countrey and home: both prosperitie and aduersitie hath so coupled vs together. By which inuincible fidelity that is in vs, I desire you, and require you, that you would vouchsafe to lodge within our campe, and suffer vs to be the guard of your person. Wee haue lost Greece, we haue no Bactria to go vnto, all our hope is in you, and God graunt that all other men had the like. It is not necessarie I should speake any more, nor would not demaund the custody of your person being an alien and a straunger, if I knew that others were well minded towards you.

Although Bessus was ignorant of the Greeke tongue,

tongue, yet his conſcience pricked him to beleeue that Patron had diſcloſed ſome ſuch matter, and therefore carrying away ſome part of his wordes, by a Greeke interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his countenance, enquired of Patron, what moued him to giue him ſuch aduiſe: Wherevpon he thought not good to defer it any longer, but ſayd: Beſſus and Nabarzanes worke treaſon againſt you, ſo that your life and your eſtate ſtand in extreme perill, and this day ſhall be the laſt either to the traitours, or to you. Whoſe wordes, if Darius had well wayed and regarded, Patron had receyued great glory of the preſeruacion of his Prince. But let them mock that liſt, which be perſwaded that the ſtate of man is gouerned at aduenture and by chaunce: but I beleeue that euery man runneth his race by an immutable order, and an euerlaſting appointment, by a knitting together of cauſes vnknowne appoynted long before. Darius anſwere was:

That although the fidelitie of the Greeke ſouldiers was ſufficiently knowen vnto him, yet hee was determined neuer to depart from his owne nacion, by whome, though hee might be deceyued, yet it was hard for him to miſtruſt them: whatſoeuer ſhould chance to him he ſayd, he was minded rather to ſuffer it amongſt his owne ſubiects, then to part away from them, not deſiring to liue,

liue, if his own souldiers desired not his sauegard. Whereupon Patron despairing of the kings wel doing, returned them, of whom he had the charge ready to aduenture any thing for his sake. Bessus in the meane season had vtterly determined to slea Darius, but fearing that he could not win Alexanders fauour except he deliuered his enemy into his hands aliue, differred his purpose to the night following. In the meane season he came to Darius, and gaue him thanks that he had so warely and with such wisedome auoided the treason of that false Grecian, who beeing corrupted by Alexander, sought nothing but how to make a present of his head: wherat (he saide) hee coulde not marueile that a Mercenary man should leaue any thing vndone for money, being without any pledge of his honesty, without house & home, banished out of the world, a faint frend, & a doubtfull enemy, tossed here and there at the back of all men, that wil corrupt him. And then he fell to purging of himselfe, calling the Goddes of his countrey to witnes of his innocencie in ꝑ matter. Darius by his countenance seemed to beleeue him: yet he doubted not of the trueth of the tale that Patron had told him: but he was come to such a point, that it was as dangerous for him not to beleue his owne men, as to be deceiued.

ceiued. There were xxx. M. whose lightnes was feared to haue consented to this conspiracy: and Patron had but iiii. M. to whome if he had committed his sauegard, and thereby condemned the fidelity of his owne nacion, he saw that then they might haue had thereof a goodly colour & a pretence to performe the thing they went about, & therefore chose rather to be killed innocently, then to giue any occasion whereby he should seeme to haue deserued death. And yet when Bessus purged himself, he answered, that he knew there was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhode, and that they were deceiued that looked for any reward of treason at his hands, knowing there was no surer punisher nor reuenger of the breach of fidelitie. When the night drew neere, the Persians after their accustomed maner put off their armor, and repaired to the next villages to prouide things necessary. But the Bactrians as Bessus had commanded them, stoode still armed. In the meane season Darius had sent for Artabasus, and shewed him what Patron had declared. Whereupon Artabasus made no doubt, but that he should streightwaies commit himself amony ỹ Greeks, thinking that the Persians whē ỹ kings peril should be published abrode, would ioine with the Grecians. Yet Darius

pred eſtinate to his chaunce, could not beare them any wholeſome counſell, nor ſought for any help in that caſe, but embraſed Artabaſus as though he ſhould neuer ſee him more, and being wet with the teares that one of them let fall vpõ another, cauſed Artabaſus to be remoued frõ him, and becauſe he would not ſee his ſorow in departing from him, he couered his face, and fel flat vpon the ground. Then ſuch as were accuſtomed to the guard of his perſon, which ſhould haue been his defence in all perils, fled away, thinking themſelues ouerweake for ſuch a nnmber of armed men as they ſuppoſed to be comming. Then there was great ſolitarines within his lodging: for none remained about the King but a few Eunuchs, that had no place to repaire vnto. Then hee debated and deuiſed with himſelfe alone, ſometime one thing, and ſometime another: and by and by he waxed weary of that ſolitarines which before hee tooke for a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whome he beheld and ſayd:

Go prouide for your ſelues, which according to your duties haue been true to your Prince till the laſt houre. Heere I do tarye for the fatall lawe of my deſteny. Peraduenture ye do maruaile that I do not end mine own life. I had rather dy through other mens wickedneſſe, then by mine owne.

After thoſe words, Bubace filled both the

kings

kings lodging, and also the whole campe with mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, & tearing their clothes, bewayled his case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the *Persians*, they were so amased for feare, that they durst neither put on their armour, least they might geue occasion to the *Bactrians* to set vpon them, nor they could not remayne quiet, least they might seeme so wickedly to leaue their king. There were clamours throughout the campe of diuers sorts & tunes, without any head, and without any appoynt-ment. Such as pertained to Nabarzanes and Bessus, deceyued by such lamentacion as they heard, brought tidings to thereof, that the king had killed himselfe. Whereupon they repaired thither so fast as they could gallop, & such followed after, as they had chosen to be ministers of their mischiefe. When they were entered into the kings pauilion, because the Eunuchs declared that he was on liue, they commanded him to be bound. Thus he which before was caryed in a chariot, and honoured of his men like a God, was made prisoner by his owne seruaunts without any forreine power, and put into a vyle cart couered ouer with beasts skinnes: and spoile was made of the kings stuffe, in such sort, as if it had bin

taken

taken in the warꝛs. And when they had laden thẽſelues with the pꝛay gotten after ſo foule a maner, they conueied themſelues into their coũtreis. But Artabaſus with thoſe of whõe he had the charge, & with the Greeke ſouldiers, tooke the way towards *Parthina*, thinking to be moꝛe ſure any where, then in the fellowſhip of thoſe traitours. The *Perſiãs* whõe Beſſus had burdened with ſo many faire pꝛomiſes, ſpecially becauſe they had no other mã to follow, ioined themſelues to the *Bactrians*, & the third day ouertoke them. But to the intent Darius ſhould not want ſuch honoꝛ as was due to his eſtate, Beſſus cauſed him be bound with golden fetters: ſuch were the deſpites that his foꝛtune made him ſubiect vnto. And foꝛ that he ſhould not be knowne by his apparell, they couered the cart with foule hides of beaſts, & cauſed vnknowen men to dꝛiue it foꝛwards. And leſt by inquirie in the army he might be diſcouered, ſuch as had the charge of him folowed a farre off. When Alexander heard that Darius was remoues to *Echatane*, he left the way that he was in, and with all the ſpeed he could make, folowed after Darius that was ſaid to be gone into *Media*. But when Alexand. was come to *Taba*, which is the chiefe Citie of *Parataceu*, it was there ſhewed him by fugitiues that came out

of

of Darius camp, how he was fled wᵗ al speede into *Bactria*: & afterward vnderstood ꝑ matter more certainly by Bagistenes of *Babilon*, who could not say directly that Darius was vsed as a prisoner, but said that either he was in danger of death or of captiuity. Alexander vpō those news called his Captaines together, & shewed them that he had a great enterprise, but such one as the trauaile was very short. Darius (he said) was not far off, forsaken of his own men, & either taken as a prisoner, or els slain. In whose person he shewed the whole victory to consist, & the greatnes of ꝑ matter to be a reward sufficiēt of their haste making. They all cried with one voice, ꝑ they were ready to folow him where he would go, & that he shuld not spare their labour nor their peril. Whereupon he conueyed his army forwards with marueilous speed, rather in post, then after ꝑ cōmon order of marching, neither resting day nor night, til they passed v. C. furlongs, & come to ꝑ village where Darius was taken. There Melun, Darius interpretour, who by reason of his sicknes could not folow the army, was taken through Alexāders celerity, who feining that he fled from his maister, declared the whole matter: but how great soeuer his desire was to ouertake his enimies, it was necessary for him to giue his mē rest of

their

their trauaile: so that determining to leaue the rest of his armie behinde, did choose out fiue thousand horsemen, and added to them iiii. C. called Dimichas that were footmen, beaue harnised, but yet riding on horseback, and when the matter and place required, lighted and fought on foote. When Alexander was taking order about these things: Orsellus & Mithracenes, which for the hatred they bare to Bessus for his treason, fled from him, declaring to the king that the Persians were but v. C. furlongs off, and proffered to guide him by a neerer way. Their comming was gratefull to the king: for by their conduction in the beginning of the night, he tooke his iourney with such horsemen as he had appointed, willing his foote battaile to follow after with all speed possible. Hee marched forwardes in a square battaile, and kept such an order, that the first might ioine with the last, and such as came behind relieued them that went before. When they had passed ccc. furlongs on their waye, Broculus the sonne of Mazeus that sometime had beene gouernor of Siria, met Alexander, and declared that Bessus was within two hundred furlongs, marching with his men out of all order, as one that did cast no doubts. It seemed to him (he said) that they went towards Hircania: wherefore if

haste

haſte were made, they might ſoone be ouer-taken, and found diſpercled here and there out of all aray. And by reaſon he affirmed alſo that Darius was yet aliue: Alexander that was hote before in his purſute, was with his words much more pricked forwards, ſo that he cauſed them to put ſpurres to their horſes, and paſſed forwards a gallop going ſo farre forth, that they might heare the noyſe of their enemies as they marched. But the duſt that did riſe, dimmed their ſight: and therefore he ſtayed awhile till the duſt was vaniſhed away. Then both Beſſus perceiued the Macedons, and they ſaw the Perſians as they fled. Notwithſtanding they had not bin able to haue matched with them, if Beſſus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his maiſter. For beſides that they exceded the Macedons in number and power, they forewearied and ſore trauailed, ſhould haue had to do with them that were luſty and freſh. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres, put them in ſuch feare, that they could not ſtay themſelues. Then Beſſus & other that were partners of the conſpiracy, came to the cart where Darius was, and perſwaded him to leap on horſeback, and flye from his enemies that were at hand. But he crying out that the

Gods were come to his reuenge, and calling for the assistance of Alexander, said: that in no wise he would go with traytours: wherewith they were so stirred to wrath, that they threwe darts at him, and left him wounded in many places of his body. They thrust in the beasts that drewe the cart, to the intent they should not be able to passe forwards, and slew his two seruants that did wait vpon him. When they had committed this act, they thought it expedient to disperse themselues in their flying. And so Nabarzanes toke his way to *Hircania*, & Bessus to *Bactria*, with a fewe horsemen that each of them had in their company. When their souldiours were forsaken of their captaines, they scattered here and there, where hope and feare did leade them. There were only v. C. horsemen which assembled themselues together, and stood in a mammozing whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexãder vnderstanding the feare his enemies were in, sent Nicanor before wt part of his horsemen to keepe them occupyed, & he with the rest folowed after. There were slaine to the number of iii. M. of such as stood at their defence, and the rest were driuen in flocks like beasts: from killing of whome. Alexander commaunded his men to abstaine. Amongst all the prisoners there was none ỳ

was

was able to shew the Cart that caryed Darius: for euery one was so desirous to fynde him, that as they saw any Cart, they sought him therin: and yet they could perceiue by no meanes where he was become. Alexander made such haste, that scarcely iiii. M. horsemen followed him of all his number: but the great number of the *Persians* fell into their laps þ folowed behinde. It is scarcely credible to be beleued, that there should be more prisoners taken, then there were men to take thē. But fortune in that feare had so taken away their sence, that they could not consider their owne multitude, nor the small number of their enemies. In the meane season the beasts þ drew Darius wagon, hauing no man to gouerne them, were swarued out of the high way, and wandering heere and there, had drawen Darius iiii. furlongs frō the place where he was wounded, into a valley where they fainted, by reason of their heate & their hurts. There was a spring at hand, which certaine þ knew the countrey had shewed to Polistratus a Macedon, that was ouercome for thirst. And whiles he was drinking water out of his helmet, he spied the beasts that were thrust in with darts, and marueiling that they were not rather caryed away, then hurt after that manner: hee looked and found in the foule

cart the body of a man halfe aliue, and at length perceyued it was Darius that lay there ſore wounded, & drawing of hys breath. Then Poliſtratus brought to him a Perſian whome he had taken priſoner. Whome when Darius knew by his voice, to be of his countrey, ſayd: that he tooke it for a comfort of his preſent fortune, that he ſhould ſpeake before he died to one that vnderſtoode him, and not vtter his laſt wordes in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexander,

That though he had neuer deſerued any thing at his hands, yet it was his chaunce to dye greatly his debtour, and had thanks to geue him, for the fauour and goodnes that he had ſhewed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, to whome he had not only graunted life, but alſo the reuerence of their former eſtate and dignitie, whereas he of his kinſmen and frends, to whome he had geuen both life and lands, was now by them bereaued of all. He prayed therefore that he might alwayes be victoror, and that the Empire of the whole world might come into his hands, requiring that he would not neglect to take reuengement of ſo foule an act, not only for his cauſe, but for example and the loue of other princes, which ſhould be a thing honourable vnto him, and profitable in time comming.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, he fainted, and calling for water, after he had dronke, ſayde to Poliſtratus that preſented it vnto him:

What-

Whatsoeuer thou art, this is vnto me the last misery in all my aduerse chaunce, that I am not able to requite thee this benefit. But Alexander shall reward thee, and the Gods shall requite him for his great humanitie and clemencie shewed towards mine. Vnto whome in my behalfe thou shalt geue my hand as pledge of a kings promise. And hauing spoken these words, and geuen Polistratus his hand, he died. When his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corps lay, and there bewailed with teares, that it was his chaunce to dye a death so vnworthy for so great an estate, and taking off his owne cloke to couer the dead corps withall, adorned the same with all things that pertayned to a King, and sent it to his mother Sisigambis to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to bury Kings, and to be layd amongst the rest of his predecessours.

*Heere the first part of the sixt booke doth want, wherein was conteined the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparacion of both nacions to the battayle that was fought betwixt Antipater Alexanders lieutenaunt in Macedonia, and the king of the Lacedemonians.*

# ¶ The syxt booke of *Quintus Curtius*, *of the actes of Alexander the great*, King of Macedon.

HE pressed forwards where the fight was most dangerous, & seeing such as made most resistance, put the greater part of his enemyes to flight. Then such as were victorious before began to flye, till they had drawen their enemyes greedely following them, out of the streight into a more playne ground. In the retire, many of them were slaine: but when they had once recouered such a ground where as they might stay and fall in order, the battailes ioyned equally againe on both sides. Amongst them all the kings of the Lacedemonians appeared most notable in all mens eyes, not so much by the bewty of his armor and goodly personage, as through the greatnes of his courage, wherein only he could not be ouercome. He was layd to on all parts, both neere hand, and a far off. Yet for all that, he endured long in armes against his enemies, auoiding their strokes part with his target,

target, and part with his body, till such time as he was thrust through both thighes with a speare, when by great effusion of bloud he was not able any longer to endure the fight: then the Esquiers for his body toke him up upon his target, & caried him into their campe that with great paine endured the sturring of his wounds. The Lacedemoniãs for all their kings departure gaue not ouer the fight, but assoone as they could recouer any ground of aduantage, they closed themselues in battaile together, and receiued stoutly their enemies that came full vpon them. There is not found in any memory, of a battail more vehemently fought then that, where the armies of two nacions that were most excellent in the warres, contended togethers for the victory, not yet enclining to any part. The Lacedemonians called to minde their auncient manhode and prowes, and the Macedons considered their present estimacion they had in the worlde. The Lacedemonians striued for their libertie, and the Macedons for the souereintie: the one partie lacked a Captaine, and the other roome to fight in. The manifold aduentures and chaunces that fell that day, encreased both the hope and feare of both parties: fortune as it were of purpose bringing such valyant men to fight togethers, neyther of them

preuayling vpon other. But the streightnes of the place wherin they fought, did not suffer them to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, & such as stood without daunger, encouraged the other with their crie. At length the Lacedemonians began to faint, & scarcely able for sweating to sustaine their armor, began to drawe backe, to haue the more libertie to flee from their enemies that preased sore vppon them. When they were once broken and scattered abroade, the victorours pursued after. And passing the place wherupon the Lacedemonians battaile was first aranged, made a sore pursute vpon Agis: who seeing his men fleeing, & his enemies approch at hand, willed his men to set him downe: where stretching himselfe, to feele if the force of his body could answer vnto his hart, when he founde himselfe vnable to stand, remayning vppon his knees put on his helmet, and couering his body with his target, shaked his speare, & prouoked his enemies to draw neere, if any were desirous of his spoile: but there was not one that preased neere him, but did cast darts a far off, which he always took & threw at his enemies againe, till such time as he was thrust into the bare brest with a speare. But when the same was pulled out of the wound, he fainted, & bowing himselfe

himselfe vpon his Target, shortly after fell downe dead, bloud and life failing both together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians v.M. iii. C. xl. and of the Macedons not passing iii.C. But there was scarcely any of them that escaped vnwounded. This victorie brake the hearts not onely of the Lacedemonians & of their confederats, but also of other which lay in waite looking for the successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant how the countenances of such as did gratifie his victorie, differed much from the intentes of their hearts: but desirous to finish the warres that was begun, perceiued it necessary for him to dissemble and suffer him selfe to be deceiued. And though he reioyced much in the fortune of the thing, yet he feared the enuye that might ensue therof, being a greater matter then the estate of a Lieutenant did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that he desired that his enemies had wun the victory, shewing manifestly that he was not contented with Antipaters good successe: thinking that what honour so euer chanced to any other mã, was a derogation to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knewe full well his stomacke, durst not vse the victory according to his owne will, but assembled a councell of Greekes, to aduise what they thought expedient.

ent. The Lacedemonians made no other request, but that they might send Embassadors vnto Alexander, which vpon their repaire to him and their sute made, obtained a generall pardon for al men, sauing for such as were the authors of the rebellion. The Megapolitans, whose citie did abide the siege were compelled to paie as a fine for their rebellion xx. talents to the Athenians, and the Aetolians. This was the end of the warre, which being sodenly begun, was ended before that Alexander had ouerthrowne Darius at Arbella. Assoone as his minde was deliuered of those present cares, as one that could beare better the warr then quietnes, hee gaue himselfe all to pleasures, by the vices whereof ensuing hee was ouercome, whom no power of the Persians or any other was able to subdue. He was giuen to banqueting out of season, and to a fond delight of drinking and watching in playes among flockes of Concubines, that drewe him into straunge manners and customes. Which he following as things better then his countrey vsages, offended thereby greatly both the eyes and the hearts of his nation, & caused many ỳ loued him before entirely, to hate him then as an enemie. For the Macedons ỳ were obstinate in keeping their owne discipline, & accustomed not to be curious, but so scarce in

their

their diet as might suffice nature, when they sawe him go about to bring in amongst them the vices of those nations which they had subdued: conspiracies then began to be made against him, mutenie rose amongst the Souldiers, and euery one complaining to another, freely vttered their griefes, whereby he was prouoked to wrath, to suspicion and sodeine feare, diuers other inconueniences ensuing thereupon, which shall be declared heereafter.

Alexander being giuen as it hath beene said before to vnreasonable banqueting, wherein he consumed both daye and night: When he was satisfied of eating and drinking, passed ouer the time with playes and pastimes. And not contented with such Musitians as hee brought out of Greece, caused the women that were captiue, to sing before him such songes as abhorred the eares of the Macedons not accustomed to such things. Amongst those women Alexander spied one more sad then the rest, which with a certain shamefastnes did striue with thē that brought her forth. She was of excellent beauty, & through her shamefastnes her beautie was augmented. Because shee did cast hir eyes towardes the earth, couering her face so much as she might: gaue suspition for him to thinke that she was come of great nobilitie, then ẏ she ought to be

brought

brought in to such kind of pastimes. And therfore being demanded what she was: she shewed her selfe to bee the neece of Occhus that lately raigned in Perse, and the wife of Histaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had been his lieutenant ouer great armies. There yet remained in the kings heart some small sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect of her estate, being come of a Kings bloud, & the reuerence he bare to such a name, as the Neece of Occhus, commaunded her not only to be set free, but also to be restored to her goods and her husband, whom he willed to be sought out. The next day he appointed Ephestion to bring all the prisoners vnto the court, where inquiring of the nobilitie of euery one, commaunded them which were descended of noble bloud, to bee seuered from the rest, amongst whom they found Oxatres brother to Darius, that was no lesse noble of minde then of bloud. There was made of the last spoile xxvi. M. talents, whereof xii. M. were consumed in rewards amongst the men of warre: and the summe amounted to no lesse value that was conueyed away by them that had the keeping thereof. There was one Oxidates a noble man of Perse, that was put in prison by Darius, & appointed to suffer death, whom Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto

him

him the seignorie of *Media*, and receiued Darius brother amongst the nũber of his frends, reseruing to him all the accustomed honor of his nobility. Then they came to the countrey of *Parthenia*, then being but obscure and vnknowen: but now the head of all those countreys which lye vpon *Tigre* & *Euphrates*, and be bounded with the red sea. This countrey being frutefull and aboundant of all things, was taken by the Scithians, which possessing part of *Asia* and *Europe*, be troublous neighbours to them both. The Scithians, which inhabit vpon the *Bospheron* sea, are ascribed to be in *Asia*. And such as be in *Europe* possesse ẏ coũtreis lying on the left of *Thrace* so farre as *Boristhenes*: and from thence right forth so far as the riuer *Thanais*, that parteth *Europe* & *Asia*. It is certaine ẏ the Scythes, of whom the Persians be discended, came not frõ *Bospheron*, but out of *Europe*. There was a noble Citie in those dayes called *Hecatonphilos* builded by the Greeks, where Alexander remayned with his army, conueying vittailes thether from all partes. Amongst the souldiers lying there in idlenes, there rose sodeinly a rumour, entered into their heads without any certaine autour or beginning. The rumor was, how that Alexander satisfied with the acts he had done, purposed immediatly

mediatly to returne into *Macedon*. This fame was not so soone sowen abrode, but that they ran like mad men to their lodgings, and trussed vp their baggage and their stuffe: making such preparation to depart, that euery man iudged warning had been geuen to remoue, and that the thing had been done by appointment. The tumult that did ryse in the campe by lading of cariages, and by the calling the one made vnto another, came vnto the kings eares. This rumour obteined the sooner credit, by the dispatch of certaine Greeke souldiers, whome Alexander had dismissed into their countrey, with the gift of vi.M. deniers to euery horseman: thereupon taking occasion to think that the war had bin at an end. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into *India*, and the vttermost bounds of the *Orient*, was no lesse afraid of this matter then the case required. And therefore calling before him ỹ captaines of his army, with the teares in his eies, made a great cõplaint vnto them, that in the middle course of his glory he should thus be pulled back, and compelled to returne into his countrey rather as a man vanquished then as a victorer. Which misfortune, he said, he could not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge that their cowardnes did giue impedimẽt to his procedings, but that it was

only

only the enuy of the Gods that put so sodaine a desire of their countrey into the myndes of valiãt men, which within a while should haue returned with greater glory & fame. Thereupon they al promised to trauaile in reformacion of the matter, offering themselues in all things (were they neuer so difficult) to do as he would haue them. And they promised also, the obedience of the souldiers, if so be that he would make some gentle and apt oracion to pacifie them, which were neuer yet seene depart from him in any desperatiõ or disturbãce of mind, if they once beheld the cherefulnes of his countenance, & the courage proceding frõ his hart. He promised so to do, and required at their hand to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to giue him eare. When all thyngs were prepared which were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his army together, and made this Oracion vnto them. When ye consider (my souldiours) the greatnes of the actes which ye haue done, and the manyfold conquests that yee haue made, it is no maruaile at all, that ye be enclined to quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame, & glory. For leauing to speake of the Illirians, and Triballes, of Boetia, Thracia, and Sparta, of the Acheians, and Peloponesians, whome I haue subdued, part in person, and the rest by appoyntment: I will not make rehersall of the war we began at Hellespont, & how we deliuered from seruitude of the barbatous nations Ionas, & Acolides, & got vnto our possession Caria,

Caria, Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrigia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia, Pisides, Cilicia, Siria, Phenices, Armenia, Perse, Mede, and Parthema. We haue gotten more countreys then other haue taken Cities: and yet (I am sure) the multitude haue caused me to leaue some of them vnrehearsed. If I could thinke that the possession of these landes that wee haue conquered in so shorte time could remaine sure vnto vs: then (my souldiours) I would, though it were against your wils, breake from you to visit my house and my home, to see my mother, my sisters, and my countrey men, to enioye there the laude & glory that I haue gotten with you: where as the ioyfull conuersation of our wiues, our children and parents, peace, quietnes, and a sure possession of things gotten through our valiantnesse do tarrie for vs, as large rewards of our victorie. But if wee will confesse the truth, this new Empire which we haue not yet at commaundement, but is kept as it were by way of entreatie, doth require a time, that this stiffe necked people may learne to beare our yoake, and by framing their dispositions to a more humanitie, bring their cruell nature to a more ciuill conuersation. Do we not see that the corne in the field asketh a time for his riping, and though the same be without sence, yet hath it his course to be brought to perfection: do you beleeue that so many Nations not agreeing with vs in religion, in custome, nor in vse of tongue, accustomed to the empire and name of another man, will be conquered and brought to subiection with the winning of one battaile? No trust mee, they be kept vnder with the feare of our power, and do not obey vs of their owne good willes. And they which shewe you obedience when yee be heare amongst them,

them, when you be abſent will be your enemies. You muſt thinke that ye haue to doo with wylde beaſts, which being fierce of nature when they be firſt taken, muſt be ſhut vp and tamed with tyme. Hitherto I haue reaſoned with you as though we had conquered the whole dominion that pertained to Darius, which is nothing ſo. For Nabarzanes poſſeſſeth Hyrcania, and the traytour Beſſus not only enioyeth Bactria, but alſo threatneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahans, Maſſegetes, Sagans, and the Indians, remayne yet in their owne libertie and iuriſdiction, which ſhall not ſee our backs ſo ſoone turned, but they will follow vs in the tayles. They all haue a certeine frendſhip and amitie one with another: but we be all ſtrangers and forreyners vnto them. There is no creature, but that will more gladly be obedient to rulers of his owne nation, then to forreyners, be their gouernment neuer ſo terrible. We are driuen of neceſſitie therefore to win that we haue not, or elſe to loſe that we haue already gotten. As Phiſicions in ſyck bodies will leaue no humour that may hurt, ſo likewiſe we muſt cut away whatſoeuer ſhall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not ſeene great fyres riſen of ſmall ſparks not regarded? We may not neglect any thing in our enemyes, whome the more we deſpiſe, the more ſtrong we make them. And becauſe you ſhall not thinke it ſuch an impoſſibilitie for Beſſus to make himſelfe King, where as a King wanteth, you ſhall vnderſtand, that Darius came not to his Empire by inheritance, but got into the ſeate of Cyrus by the benefite of Bagoas his Eunuch. We commit an heynons offence (my ſouldiours) if we make warre againſt Darius, and put him downe for the intent to geue his kingdome vnto his ſeruaunt:

yea, and to such one as attempted so vile an acte against his maister, at such a time as he had most neede of helpe, and whome we being his enemies would haue spared: he being his subiect, put him in chaines as a captiue, and finally slewe him because he should not be preserued by vs. Shall you suffer this kinde of man to raigne? no, let vs make all the speede we may to see him crucifyed, and so to shewe vnto all Kings and Nations a iustice done vpon one, that so vilely falsifyed his faith. If the report should come vnto you being in your owne countreis, that the same man were destroying of the Greeke Citie about Hellespont: O God how sory would you be then, and how much would you lament that Bessus should enioy that you haue gotten, and vsurp the rewards of your victorye? Then would you make haste to recouer your owne, then would you bend your selues to the warres. But how much better is it now to oppresse him whyles he remayneth in such feare, and is vncerteine what way to take? Shall wee spare to spend foure dayes iourney to come to him, that haue ouertroden such snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue clymed so many Mountaines? to whose iourney the flowing sea could be no impediment, nor the streight of Cilicia coulde shut vp our way? Now all things are made playne and open, and wee stande in the entery of our victory. There bee but a fewe fugitiues and killers of their maisters that doo remayne. What more notable worke can you leaue vnto your posteritie, to be registred by fame vnto your glory, then to reuenge such as were traytours to Darius? You shall thereby shewe, that when you were enemyes vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked

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man coulde eſcape your handes. Which thing if you bring to paſſe, how much more obedient do you thinke the Perſians ſhall be vnto you, when they perceiue you to take iuſt warres in hande, and that it was not Beſſus name wherewith yee were offended, but with his faults & euill doings.

His Oration was receyued of the Souldiers with ſuch gladnes, that they ſtreightways deſired him to cary them whether he would. And he that could vſe the occaſion of their good moode, paſſed through *Parthenia*, and came to the bounds of *Hircania*, leauing Craterus with the band, whereof he had the rule, & vi. M. horſemen, of whom Amintas had the charge, with the like number of Archers, to defende *Parthenia* from the incurſion of the barbarous nations. He apointed Erigonus with a ſmall power to attend vpon his cariages: willing him to paſſe with them through the plaine countrey, and he himſelfe with his footemen, and with the reſt of his horſemen, marched forwards a hundred and fifty furlongs, and encamped in a valley at the entrey of *Hircania*. In the ſame place be great woods full of high & thick trees, and the bottome of the valley is very frutefull, by reaſon of the ſprings that come foorth of the rocks. Out of the foote of the mountaines there riſeth a riuer called *Zioberis*, which within iii.

furlongs of the head, is deuided by a rocke, standing in the middes of the streame, causing the water to go two sundry ways, which afterwards comming againe into one chanell, runneth more violently then before, by reason of the fall from the rocks. And sodeinly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of ccc. furlongs, and then commeth foorth againe, as it were out of a new spring, being then in breadth xiii. furlongs, and as it runneth forwards, draweth more narow, and falleth into another streame named *Rhydago*. The inhabitours of the countrey affirmed, that all things cast in where the streame sonke into the ground, would appeare and come out againe at the next issue. For the proouing of which conclusion, Alexander caused two Bulls to be cast in, where the water entered, whose bodies were found by such as were appointed for the purpose, where the streame brake out againe. In this place he refreshed his army four dayes, during which time Nabarzanes (which was confederate with Bessus in killing of the king) did write letters to him, in effect:

How that he was no enemy vnto Darius, but counsayled him euer to do such things as he iudged most profitable: and for his faithfull counsaile was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about against all reason to commit the custody of his

his perſon to ſtraungers, condemning therby the fidelitie of his owne nation, which they had kepte vnſpotted towards their Kings the ſpace of CC. xxx. yeres: Therefore ſeeing himſelfe in that perill and daunger, tooke counſaile of his preſent neceſſitie. And alleged that it was alwayes admitted lawfull for a man to kill ſuch one whome he knewe to conſpire his death, which was an excuſe (he ſayde) wherewith Darius ſatisfyed the people, when hee had ſlayne Bagoas. Hee alleged that nothing was more deere to mortal creatures then life, for the loue whereof hee was driuen to this extremitie, in committing an act which neceſſitie rather compelled him to do, then his own diſpoſition. For in a generall calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If he would commaund him to come to his preſence, he ſayde he woulde not refuſe to do it: for he could not feare that ſo great a King would violate his promiſe, ſeeing one God is not wont to deceiue another. But if he ſhoulde ſeeme vnworthy to whome he would geue his aſſurance, there were many countreys for him to flye vnto. For all men hauing vertue in them, count always that for their countrey, where they make their dwelling place.

Alexander made no ſtay to geue him his fayth, after ſuch ſort as the Perſians vſed to receiue promiſe: which was, ſafely to come and go. Notwithſtanding he marched in order of battaile, ſending euer ſcourers before to diſcouer ỹ ground. The light armed were appoynted to the vawarde: the Phalanx followed after, and the baggage behinde. For by reaſon the ſame was a warlike nation, and the

countrey hard to enter vppon: it caused the King to looke earnestly vppon the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the *Caspian* sea, the banks therof resembling the horns of the Moone, before it commeth to the full, the sea lying betwixt them like a great Bay. Vpon the left hand the people inhabit that be called *Cercetes*, which lye open towards the North, and vppon the other part the Leucosirians, Mossynes, & Chalibes, & the plaines of the Amazones lye towardes the West. This sea which some call the *Caspian*, & some the *Hircanian* sea, being more sweete then any other, bringeth forth Serpents of a wonderfull bignes, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be diuers opinion, that the lake of *Meotis* should runne into this sea, which they coniecture of the water, thinking the same to receyue his sweetenes of the lake. Towards the North the sea groweth into a flat shore, and putteth forth his waters farre vpon the land, which rising high, make many meares and plashes. And as by certaine course of the Planets they flowe out, so at a certaine time by an ebbe, they returne in againe, restoring the ground to his former estate. Some beleeue those waters to be no parcell of the *Caspian* sea, but that they come out of *Inde*, and runne into

*Hirca-*

*Hircania*, whiche lyeth lowe in the foreſayde valley. The King beeing remoued from that place, marched forwards twentie furlongs in a wilde deſert way, where great woods hoong continually ouer their heads, & brooks of water and myre gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without any impediment of his enemies, he paſſed thoſe difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey: wherein beſides other victualls (whereof it did abound) grewe great plentie of apples, and the ground was very apt for vynes. There were alſo plenty of a certaine kinde of trees much lyke vnto Okes, whoſe leaues were couered with hony, whiche the inhabitours gather before the Sunne ryſyng: for elſe the moyſture woulde bee dryed vp with the heate. When Alexander had paſſed thirtie furlongs more forwards, Phratapher-nes met him, yeelding both himſelfe, and ſuch other as fled away after Darius death, whom he receyued gently, and came to a towne called *Aruas*. Thither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringing with them Phradates that had the rule of the *Tapurians*: whoſe frendly receyuing & gentle entertainmēt was cauſe ỹ many folowed his example, in committing thēſelues to Alexanders mercy. Menape was there made prince of *Hircania*, he being

a banished man in the time of Occhus, came to king Philip for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office he had before. When Alexander was come to the vttermost bounds of *Hircania*, Artabazus whom we declared to shewe himselfe alway to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and children, and with a small band of Greeke souldiours. The king at his comming proffered him his hand, because he had bin entertained before by king Phillip, when he was banished by Occhus: but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the continuall fidelitie that he obserued towards his Prince. He being thus gently receyued by Alexander, sayd vnto him:

Syr, long may you florish and reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioyce in all other things, with one am chiefely greeued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shall not be able long to enioy your goodnes. He was lxxxv. yeeres of age, and brought with him nine sonnes borne of one mother, whome he presented before the King, praying God to continue their liues so long as theyr seruice might be acceptable vnto him.

Alexander was accustomed much to walk on foote, but then lest the olde man might be ashamed to ride, he going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped, he sent for the Greekes that Artabazus brought. But they made request first that he would

would geue assurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongst them, or else they woulde take aduise amongs themselues what were best to doe: The same were the Embassadours that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius: which after the battell, ioined themselues to the Greekes that were in Darius wages. The King willed them to leaue all assurances and compositions, and come to receyue such appointment as he woulde geue them. They stood long in a stay varying in opinions, but at length they agreed so to doo, sauing Democrates of *Athens*, which chiefly had euer oppugned the succesſe of the Macedon, who despairing of pardon, slewe himselfe. But the other, as they had determined, submitted themselues to Alexanders will, being x.M.v.C. in number, besides iiii. score and x. of such as were sent Embassadours vnto Darius. The more part of the Souldiers were distributed amongs the bands to fill vp the numbers that wanted, & the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to be put in prison. There was a nation called *Mardons* bounding next to *Hircania*, rude in their maners & vsages, accustomed to liue by theft: They neyther sent Embassadours, nor gaue any signification that they would be at Alexanders com-

maunde-

maundement: he tooke thereat great indignation that any one people should giue impediment to his victory, and therefore leauing a guard for his cariages, went against them with a strong power. He marched forwards in the night, and by the time that the day appeared, his enemies were in sight. But the matter came rather to a larme then to any fight. For the enemies were sone driuen from the hills, who flying away, left their villages to be sacked by the Macedons. But the army could not passe into the inward parts of the countrey without great trouble & vexacion, the same beeing compassed about with high mountaines, great woods, and desert rocks, and the parts which were plaine, were defended with a strange kinde of fortification, that is to say, with trees set thicke of purpose, the boughes wherof when they were yong, were wreathed one within another: The tops bowed downe were put into the ground againe, from whence as out of another roote, there sproong new branches. They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them foorth, but did knit them so one with another, that when they were full of leaues, they couered cleane ꝑ earth. The trees thus wreathed one with another, enclosed in the countrey as it were with a continuall hedge,

and

and were as snares to entãgle such as would go about to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe through the same, but only by cutting downe of the wood. And therein they found a great difficultie and much trauaile by reason that the wreathing and wrapping together of the boughes, kept them off from the bodies of the trees, and the weakenes of the boughes so yeelded to the strokes, that they could not easily be cut a sunder. The inhabiters of the countrey were accustomed to creepe amongst the bushe like wilde beasts, and by priuie sallies breake out vpon their enemies. Alexander therfore caused his men after the manner of hunters to seeke out their lurking places, and killed many of them. But at length he enuironed the wood with his soldiers round about, to the intent they might breake in at euery place, where they should spie any entrie. In doing wherof, many wandred & lost their company in places that they knew not, and were taken prisoners: and amongst them *Bucephalus* Alexanders horse, whome he did not esteeme as men doe other beastes: for hee would not suffer anye other man to leape vpon him: and when the King would ryde, hee would kneele downe vpon his knees to receiue him, so that he seemed to haue the sence to vnderstand whom he caried.

Alex-

Alexander was more sorowfull, and sturred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause: for searching about to get the horse againe, caused Proclamacion to be made by an interpretor, that except he were restored, he would not leaue one of the countrey men aliue. When they heard this terrible threatning, amongst other gifts, they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but commaunded the woods to be cut down, and the wayes to be made playne which he cut through the woods. This worke went so well forward, that the inhabiters despairing of habilitie to defend their countrey, yeelded thẽselues to the King. Who receyuing their pledges, committed them to the keeping of Phradates, and from thence the fifth day returned againe to his campe. There he gaue to Artabasus the double honour þ Darius did vnto him, and sent him home againe into his countrey. After that he came to the citie of *Hircania*, where Darius palace was, Nabarzanes vpon assurance came thither, bringing with him great gifts, and amongst the rest presented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuch of singuler beuty, being in the first flower of youth, whome Darius accustomed, and after Alexander: at whose intercession

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specially he did pardon Nabarzanes. The nacion of the *Amazons* being nere vnto *Hircania* (as hath bin said before) did inhabit the plaines of *Themyscire* about ꝑ riuer of *Thermodoonta*, and had a Queene reigning ouer them called Thalestris, which kept vnder her dominion al the countreis betwene the mount *Caucasus*, and the riuer of *Phasis*. She for the great affection she had to see Alexander, trauailed out of her owne countrey, and being come neere where he was, sent certein before, to declare that a Queene was come of desire to visite him, and to make her acquaintance. When libertie was geuen her to come to his presence, she caused all the rest of her band to stay, and she came forwardes accompanyed with CCC. women. Alsoone as she perceiued Alexander, she leaped from her horse, carying two Lances in her hand. The Amazones apparell is such that it doth not couer all their bodies: for their brests be bare on the left side, and their garments which they vse to knit vp with a knot, come not to their knees. One brest they alwayes reserue vntouched, wherewith they nourish their women children, but their right breasts they vse to seare, to make them more apt to draw their bowes, and cast their darts. Thalestris looked vpon Alexander with a bolde countenance, and

considered in beholding of him, that his personage aunswered not to the fame that shee had heard of his acts. For the barbarous nations gaue great veneration to the maiestie of the personage, thinking none to be sufficient for the dooing of great actes, but such as nature hath endued with great personages. It was demaunded of her, if she had any request to make vnto Alexander: Whereat she abashed not to confesse that she was come thither to get children with him: thinking her selfe a personage worthy of whom he should get heires to inherit his kingdome, wherein she couenanted, that if it were a woman she would keepe it still, and if it were a man childe, she would restore it to the father, Alexander enquired of her, if she would goe forwards with him in his warres: but therein she excused her selfe, that she had left no order for the defence of her kingdome. But she continued still in declaration of the cause of her comming, and required that her hope therein might not be in vaine. The womans appetite seemed to be more vehemently geuen to lust then the kings was: yet she obtained of him to stay for her cause, and consumed thirteene dayes in satisfieng of her desire. That doone she departed to her owne kingdome, and Alexander went to Parthemia, which

which was the place where hee first shewed manifestly the vices that were in him. Here he turned his continencie & moderation, being the most excellent vertues appearing in any kind of estate, into pride and voluptuousnesse, not esteeming his countrey customes, nor the wholsome temperance that was in the vsages and discipline of the kings of Macedon. For he iudged their ciuill vsage & maner to be ouer base for his greatnes: but did counterfeit the height & pompe of the kinges of *Perse*, representing the greatnes of ỹ gods. Hee was content to suffer men there to fall downe flat vpon the ground & worship him, and accustomed the victorors of so many nations, by little and little to seruile offices, coueting to make them like vnto his captiues. He ware vpon his head a Diadem of purple, interpaled with white, like as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned his apparell after the manner of the Persians, without scrupulositie of any euill token that it signified for the victoyer to change his habite into the fashion of him whom he had vanquished. And though he aduaunted that he ware the spoiles of his enemyes: yet with those spoiles he put vpon him their euill manners: and the insolencie of the minde, followed the pride of the apparell. Besides he sealed such letters as he sent

sent into *Europe* with his accustomed seale: but all the letters he sent abroade into *Asia*, were sealed with Darius ring. So it appeared that one minde could not beare the greatnes that appertained to two. He apparelled also his frendes, his captaines, and his horsemen, in Persian apparell, wherat though they grudged in their minds, yet they durst not refuse it for feare of his displeasure. His courte was replenished with concubynes: for he still maintained three hundred and lx. that belonged to Darius, and amongs them were flocks of Eunuches accustomed to performe the vse of women. The olde souldiours of Philip naturally abhorring suche thinges, manifestly withstoode to be infected with such voluptuousnes, and strange customes. Whereupon there rose a generall talke & opinion throughout the Camp, that they had lost more by the victory, then they had woon by the war. For when they sawe themselues ouercome in such excesse: and forreine customes so to preuaile amongs them, they iudged it a slender reward of their long being abrode, to returne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their King, that was more like to such as were subdued, then to them that were victorious: and that of a king of *Macedon*, he was become a prince of *Perse*, and one of Da-

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rius courtiers. When he vnderstood that the chiefe of his friends and his men of war were greeuously offended with his doings, he went about to recouer fauour againe with giftes and liberalitie, but it is to be thought that the rewardes of seruitude bee vngratefull to free men. And therefore least this matter might turne into a sedition, hee thought good to breake the imaginations increased by idlenes with the exercise of warre, wherof an apt occasion was giuen. For Bessus inuesting himselfe as a king, tooke vppon him the name of Artaxerxes, drawing to his part the Scithians, and other that were the inhabiters of the riuer of *Thanais*: which thinges were reported to him by Nabarzanes, whom he had receiued into his fauour, and giuen the rule of the country that he had before. When he had determined this new expedition, he found his armie so ouercharged and laden with spoyle, and other furniments of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarcely moue. Wherefore hee commaunded the baggage and stuffe of the whole armie to bee brought together in one place, excepting onely such thinges as were verie necessary. The place was large & plaine whither the cartes were brought laden: and when euerie one stoode waiting and musing what hee would commaund them to doe, hee

caused the beastes to bee remoued first out of the way, and then set his own fardles on fire, and after all the rest. Whilest these thinges were burning, the owners were on fire to see those things consumed, for the sauing whereof they had oft quenched the flames in Cities of their enemies. Yet no man durst lament the price of his owne bloud, seeing they sawe the fire consume the kings riches as wel as their owne: and the rather to pacifie them, the king did mittigate their dolour with a briefe oration. Whereupon they that were euer apte for the warres, and readie to doe all thinges, began to bee ioyfull, that with the losse of their baggage they had preserued their discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwardes towardes *Bactria*, Nicanor the sonne of Parmenio died sodainly, whom euerie man greatly lamented: but chiefly the king was so sorrowfull, desiring to haue staied for the celebration of his buryall, but that want of victuals caused him to hast forward: Philotas therefore was left behind with two thousand six hundred souldiers, to performe the ceremonies appertayning to his brothers buryall, and hee himselfe marched towardes Bessus. In the way letters were brought to Alexander from the Princes therabout, that Bessus was comming towardes him with

with a great armie, adding thereunto that Satribarzanes whome hee had made Prince of the *Arians*, was newly rebelled. For that cause (notwithstanding hee was come neare vnto Bessus) hee thought it best first to oppresse Satribarzanes: and for that intent he brought forwardes his horsemen and footemen that were light armed, to inuade him sodainly. His comming was not so priuie, but Satribarzanes knew thereof, and fledde into *Bactria* with two thousand horsemen. For by reason hee was not able to assemble anie more in so short a time, the rest tooke the next mountaines for their refuge. There was a rocke which towardes the west was high and steepe, but towardes the East more low and easie to bee clymed vppon, which parte was full of trees. The same rocke beeing in compasse thirtie and two furlonges, had a fountayne running continually, and in the toppe a greene playne, where they placed the weaker multitude: but the rest that were apte for defence, beeing to the number of thirteene thousand, gotte themselues to the edges of the rocke, and there threw downe stones and logges vppon the Macedons that came to assaile them. Hee lefte Craterus to besiege this rocke, and went in person to pursue Satribarzanes. And because hee vnderstoode

that he was fledde farre off, returned back againe to the siedge of them that were vppon the rocke. First he caused all things to be taken away, that might bee any impediment to his men in the assault giuing. But when they came to the bare and steepe rocke, the labour seemed waste, where nature wrought against them. But he that was of a disposition alwaies to striue against difficulties, considering howe hard a matter it was to go forwards, and how dangerous to returne backe againe, did cast in his heade all the wates and deuises that could bee imagined, and nowe fantasied one thing, and then another, as men be wont whē that wayes they haue founde out first doe not please them. As hee stoode in a stay in doubt what to doe, fortune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reason could inuent. It chaunced that the winde blewe sore at the south-west, what time the soldiors had felled great plentie of woode, whereof they thought to make scaffolds to mount vp against the rocke, and the heate of the Sun had made the same drie. When Alexander perceyued the winde to blow after that sort, & the wood lying in that place, conceiued by and by his purpose, and willed more trees to bee cutte downe, and laide vpon them, putting all other things to it, that were apt to kindle and nou-

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rish fire: So that trees heaped vppon trees, became as it were a mountain, so high as the toppe of the rocke. The same being set on fire in all parts at once, the wind carried the flame into the face of their enemies, and the smoke couered ouer the skie. The noyse was then great that the fire made, which burned not only the trees that were fired of purpose, but also the rest of the wood growing neare therabout. The enemies were so tormented with the flame and heate of the fire, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength, and attempted to escape away where the fire did giue them least impediment. But where the fire gaue place, the Macedons stood in readines to receiue them, so that they were consumed and slaine diuers kind of wayes. Some threw themselues downe the rocks, some ran into the middest of the fire, others fell into the hands of their enemies: and a few halfe consumed with fire, were taken prisoners. Whē Alexander had done this act, he returned to Craterus which besieged *Artacnan*, who hauing prepared all things in readines, tarryed onely for the kinges comming, to giue him the honor of the winning of the Cittie. When Alexander was come, hee approched þ walls with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at the sight whereof the in-

habitants were so afraide, that they helde vp their handes from the wals, requiring him to spare them, and execute his wrath vppon Satribarzanes, that was the author of their rebellion. Alexander pardoned them freely, & not onely leuyed his siege, but also restored to the inhabitants all thinges that pertained to them. As he remoued from this Citie, there came to him a new supply of soldiors. Zoilus brought out of Greece fiue hundred horsmen, & three thousand which Antipater sent out of *Illiria*. There came a hundred and thirtie Thessalian horsemen with Philip, who also brought of souldiors strangers out of *Lidia*, two thousand fiue hundred footemen, & three hundred horsemen. Alexander hauing thus increased his power, entred into the country of the *Dragans*, which were a warlike nation, and vnder the gouernement of Nabarzanes, who being of counsell with Bessus in the treason that he committed against his prince, when he heard of Alexanders comming, for feare of the punishment hee had deserued fled into India. Thus had they lyen in camp nine dayes, when Alexander being without feare of anie enemie, and inuincible against all forreine powers, was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chaunced that one Dimnus a man of meane behauiour and authoritie

thoritie with his Prince, was greatly inflamed in the loue of a yoong man called Nichomachus, with whom hee vsed much familiar conuersation. This Dimnus on a time being in a passion (as it well appeared by his countenance) allured this yoong man into a Temple, where remaining alone together, he declared that he had certaine secrets to shew him, which in no wise were to bee reported againe. Thereby he brought Nichomachus in great suspection what the matter should be: For before he would tell him, hee made a protestation by the loue & familiarity betwixt them, that he would assure him by his oath to keepe the thing secrete, who supposing the matter to be of no such weight, that hee ought with periurie and breaking of his oath to disclose the same agayne, swore by the Gods there present. Then Dimnus opened vnto him, howe there was a treason conspired against the king, which within three dayes should be put in execution, whereof (he sayd) he himselfe was priuie wyth diuers men of nobilitie and estimation. When Nichomachus did hear it to be such a matter, constantly denied then that this promise extended to conceale treason, whereunto no oath, nor religion could binde a man. When Dimnus did heare him say so, he became in a rage betwixt

loue and feare, and clasped the yoong man by the hande, requiring him with weeping eyes that hee would not sticke to bee a partaker in the execution of this conspiracie, or at the least, if his heart would not serue him, that he would keepe his counsell secrete, in respecte that he had founde such proofe of loue in him, to commit his life into his hands without anie further proofe of his fidelitie. But in conclusion, when hee perceiued that Nicomachus would in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, hee vsed diuers meanes to bring him to his intent, one while intreating him with faire wordes, and another while threatning to kill him. He called him coward and traytour to his friend, commending the goodlines of the enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, in that hee should bee partner of the kingdome they went about to get. When he had proued all these wayes, and yet found him strange, he thrust his sword one while to Nichomachus throte, and another while to his owne, so that at length by threatening, & faire speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keep his counsell secrete, and also to be assistant to the deed doing. Yet neuertheless as one of a constant minde (though for the time present hee seemed to bee wonne with the loue of his friend,

friend, and become agreeable to his requests) changed no part of his former purpose. This done, Nichomachus required to know what the men were, that had confederated themselues in so weightie a matter, because the persons (hee saide) were much materiall that should take so great an enterprise in hande. Then Dymnus though hee were in greate trouble of mind that he had brought the matter so farre forth, yet when he heard him aske the question, reioiced, and thanked him greatly, that hee would so freely associate himselfe with such manner of men, as Demetrius of the priuie chamber, Peculaus, Nicanor, Alphabetus, Loceus, Diocenus, Archelopis and Amintas. This communication once ended betwixt them, Nichomachus departed, and disclosed all the matter which hee had heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreeing betwixt them two, that Nichomachus should remaine still secrete in his tent, least by his comming to the kinges lodging, not vsing to haue accesse to the king, the conspirators might perceiue themselues bewrayed. Ceballinus repayred to the kings lodging, and tarried before the gate, waiting for some man neere about the king, to bring him to his presence. It fortuned that among many which passed by, onely Philotas the

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some of Parmenio, demanded why he wayted there? To whom Ceballinus with a bashfull countenance (well declaring the vnquietnes of his minde) reported all those thinges which he had heard of his brother, requiring him that he would declare the same immediatly to the king. Philotas departed from him vnto the king, with whome that day hee had much communication of other thinges, & yet opened no part of the same matter which was told him by Ceballinus. At night as Philotas came forth, Ceballinus met him at the court gate, and inquired whether he had done his message to the king or not. He excused the matter that hee could finde him at no leysure. The next day Ceballinus met him again, going to the king, and put him in remembrance of that he had tolde him before, to whome hee answered that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he disclosed no part of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspect him, and intended no longer to deferre the thing, but opened the same to one Metron Maister of the kinges Armorie, who immediatly conueied Ceballinus into the Armorie, and went straight to the king which was bathing, and informed him of all that hee had heard. Alexander then made no delaye, but sent certaine of his guarde to take Dimnus, and after

ter came himselfe into the Armorie. As soone as Ceballinus sawe the king, he ranne vnto him with great reioicing, and said: Lo, I haue preserued thee from the handes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all the circumstance, and hee agayne answered to euerie point in order. The king was earnest to knowe how long it was since Nicomachus had giuen him this information, and he confessed that it was three dayes. Whereupon the king considering that with truth hee could not haue concealed this matter so long, commaunded that hee should be put in ward. Then cried hee out, and declared how that at the same instant hee knew of the conspiracie first, hee opened it to Philotas, of whome (he saide) he might inquire the trueth. Thereupon it was demanded of him, whether he had required Philotas to be broght to the kings presence or no. Which thing when the king by his confession perceiued to be true, & that he did stiffly abide by his first tale, he lifted vp his handes to heauen, the teares falling from his eyes, greatly complaining that Philotas should requite him with such vntruth, whom hee most assuredly trusted. Dimnus in the meane season knowing for what cause hee was sent for, wounded himselfe to the death: but yet somewhat letted by them that were

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sent to take him, was brought before the king, whom as soone as he beheld, said vnto him: Dimnus, what haue I offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke Philotas more worthie to bee king of Macedon than I?

At which words Dimnus became speechlesse, and casting forth a great sigh, turned his face from the kings sight, & fell downe dead. The king called Philotas before him, & said: This man whome thou heere seest, should haue suffered death, if it could haue bene proued that he had concealed two dayes the treason prepensed against me: with the which matter hee chargeth thee Philotas: to whom (as he saith) he gaue knowledge immediatly: the more neare thou art about mee, so much more greater is thy offence: and the fault had beene more tollerable in him than in thee. Howbeit thou hast a fauourable iudge: For if there bee anie thing that cannot be excused, yet at the least it may bee pardoned.

To this Philotas nothing abashed (if the heart may bee iudged by the countenance) made answer, that Ceballinus brought him a tale, the reporter whereof was ouer light of credite to be beleeued, and that he feared least by the presenting of such a matter which did rise vpon brabling betwixt two persons of euill disposition, he might haue been laught to scorne: But afterwards when he once knew that Dimnus had slaine himselfe, hee was clearely then resolued no longer to haue prolonged

longed the thing. And so falling downe before the king, besought him that hee would rather haue respect to his life past, than to his fault, which was onely a concealement, and no acte done. It is hard to say whether the king beleeued him, or grounded his displeasure more deepely in his hart: neuertheless in token of pardon, gaue him his hand, saying how it appeared that the accusation was rather miscredited by him, than concealed of malice. Notwithstanding he called his counsell together, amongst whome Philotas was not admitted, but Nichomachus was brought in before them, where he declared all such matters as he before had shewed vnto the king. There was one Craterus in speciall fauour with Alexander, who for the enuie he had to Philotas aduauncement, bare him alwayes grudge: who knewe verie well that the king had often beene displeased with Philotas for the ouer much aduauncing of his good seruice and valiant actes: but yet for all that in those matters hee was not suspected of treason, but onely noted of presumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that he could not haue a better occasion to oppresse his enemy, than by colouring his priuate hatred with a pretence of dutie towards his Prince.

Would God (quoth he) you had taken our counsaile

saile in the beginning of this matter: for if you would needs haue pardoned him, ye should haue kept from his knowledge how much hee was in your daunger, rather than to haue brought him in feare of his life, wherby ye shal make him more mindfull of his owne perill, than of your goodnes. For he may alwaies imagine your death, but you shall not be alwayes in case to pardon him. Let it neuer sinke in your heart, that hee which purposed so hainous a treason would chaunge his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon. You know well that such as offend are often in dispayre of mercie. And though hee perchaunce eyther with repentance of his fault, or remembrance of your goodnes would chaunge his minde, yet I am sure that his father Parmenio, generall Captaine of so great an armie, and of so grounded authoritie amongst your souldiers (that is with them in manner as yout selfe) would be euill content to bee in your debt for his sonnes life. There bee certaine benefites hatefull to men: and it is shame to confesse to haue deserued death. Therefore I conclude, that he had rather it should be thoght you had done him wrong, then that he had giuen him his life. I cannot see therefore, but you shalbe inforced to destroy them for their owne suretie. There be enemies inough remaining yet vnconquered, against whom wee bee going: make your selfe sure from your foes at home, so shal ye haue lesse need to feare your enemies abroad.

These were Craterus words, & the residue of the councel were of opinion, that Philotas would neuer haue concealed this conspiracy, except he had beene either principall or priuie there-

thereunto. For they thought there was no true man, or of honest hart, though hee had beene none of the kinges familiars, but one of his meane seruantes, hearing so much as Philotas heard, but would foorthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he beeing the son of Parmenio, maister of the kings horse, & of his priuy counsel, did not so much as the stranger, who straightway made relatiō of that his brother had told him. And whereas he pretended that the king was at no leisure, that they iudged to be done to the intent the accuser should not seeke any other to whome hee might vtter it. Whereas Nichomachus, albeit hee was bound by his oath to the contrary, yet would he neuer rest til he had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he consumed in a maner the whole day in sport & pastime with the king, could not find in his hart to cast forth a few wordes, especially in a matter so much concerning the kinges safegard. But admit (quoth they) he had giuen no credit to ꝑ matter through the lightnes of the reporter, why should he haue deferred the accuser two daies as though hee had beleeued it? For if hee had misliked the tale, he might haue dismissed the party. It was also alledged that euery mans minde much misgiueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne ieopardie. Much more

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ought men to bee credulous when it touched the suretie of a kinges person, in which case it ought to be examined though it bee of small weight. They all therefore determined that Philotas should bee inforced to disclose the partners of the conspiracie. The king commaunding them to keepe the matter secrete, departed, and to the intent no inckling should appeare of this new counsell, hee caused it to bee proclaimed that the armie should set forwards the next day. The same night the king called Philotas to a banquet, with whom hee vouchsafed not onely to eate, but also familiarly to commune, notwithstanding he had before in the counsel determined his death. After in the second watch of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, and Erigonus, which were of the kings counsell, came priuily into the court without light: & of the Esquiers there came Perdicas and Leonatus, by whom commandement was giuen, that all such as lay neare the kinges lodging should watch in harnesse. By this time souldiers were appointed to all the passages, and horsemen were sent to keep the wayes, that no man should passe priuily to Parmenio, which then was gouernor of *Media* with a great power. Then Attaras came into the court with three hundred armed men, vnto whom there were appointed ten of those

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that had the charge of the kings person, euerie one of them accompanied with tenne Esquiers, which were sorted into diuers companies to take the other conspirators. But Attaras with his three hundred was sent to Philotas lodging, where with fiftie of the hardiest brake vp his chamber doore that was shut against them. The residue was commanded to beset the house, least hee might escape by some secret way. Philotas, whether it were through the suretie of his owne conscience, or through wearines of such trauaile of minde, was in so profound and dead sleepe, that Attaras brake in vppon him before he wist. But at length when hee was awaked and come to himselfe, perceiuing them about to bind him, he exclaimed and saide: O Alexander, the malice of mine enemies haue preuailed aboue thy mercie. Speaking these words, they couered his face, and brought him into the court. The next day the king gaue commandement that certain of the men of war should assemble in harnesse to the number of 6 thousand besides slaues and rascals that filled full the court, which being assembled together, the guard cõpassed in Philotas with their band, to the intent he should not be spied of the people, vntill such time as the king might speake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons,

dons, the kinges in their owne persons were woont to enquire in matters of treason: yet could not the kings authoritie preuaile to condemnation, except it were confirmed by the consent of the men of warre, Therefore the body of Dimnus was first brought into the place, the most part vnknowing what hee had done, or by what chance hee was slaine. Then came the king foorth to speake vnto the multitude, which in his countenance declared the dolour of his heart: and the sadnesse of such as were neare about him, caused vnto the rest great expectation of the matter. Hee did cast his eyes towardes the earth, & stood long astonyed, and in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirites, and spake vnto them in this wise.

By the treason of some men I was almost taken from you: but through the mercie and prouidence of the Goddes, I am yet preserued Your honourable presence dooth constrayne me more vehemently to bee mooued against those Traytours, because the onely comfort and fruite of my lyfe is, that I remayne to giue thankes vnto so manie noble men, vnto whome I am so muche bounden.

With speaking of these wordes the murmour of the multitude did interrupt his tale, and the teares did fall from their eyes. Then the king began againe his tale.

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How much more will you bee mooued, when I shall shew you the authors of so horrible treason, the rehearsall of whom I yet refraine, as one verie loath to discouer their names. But I must ouercome the memorie of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracie of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for mee to hide so great a treason? Parmenio a man of that age so deeply in my debt, through the most ample benefites both of me and my father, and whome I most esteemed of all my friends, is the captaine and contriuer of al this mischiefe. His minister Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, and this Dimnus, (whose body heere you see) with other partners of their furie to my destruction.

When hee came to that point, there arose throughout the multitude a great charme of a murmure & complainte, such as is wont to be among a number, and specially of men of war, whē they are moued either with affectiō or displesure. With that Nicomachus, Metron, & Ceballinus, were brought forth, euerie one of them giuing in euidence of that they had spoken afore, yet appeared it not by ane mans tale, that Philotas was priuie to that conspiracie. But at the last when the noyse was ceased, and the witnesses had saide what they could, the king proceeded in this wise.

Of what maner mind thinke you was this man, which hearing the whole report, could find in his heart to conceale the matter, the truth whereof is well declared by the death of Dimnus.

Ceballinus that reported an vncertaine tale, for the certayne tryall thereof was afraid of no torments, and neuer delaied the moment of time, vntill he had diſcharged himſelfe: inſomuch that he brake into the place where I was bathing: but Philotas onely feared nothing, hee beleeued nothing. O how great a hart had this man, who hauing knowledge of the danger of his king, did neuer chaunge countenance, neither take ſo much paine as to heare out the tale of the accuſer. But in this ſilence and concealment there is treaſon hidden, and the greedie deſire he had to raigne, did driue him headlong to attempt extreme miſchiefe. His father is gouernor of Media, and beareth ſuch a ſtroke amongſt the Captaines & men of warre through mine authoritie, that he hopeth for a great deale more than he hath. And becauſe I am without children, he eſteemeth mee not. But Philotas is deceiued, I haue children, friends and kinsfolke amongſt you. So long as you be in safeg rd, I ſhall not reckon my ſelfe without heires.

Then did hee recite a letter that was taken, which Parmenio had writtē to his ſons Nicanor and Philotas, wherein there appeared no great proofe of anie great treaſon intended. The effect was this: Firſt take good heed to your ſelues, and then to thoſe that belong to you, ſo ſhall we bring to paſſe that we haue purpoſed. Which letter the king inforced, ſaying: It was written after ſuch a maner, that if it came vnto his ſonnes handes, it might bee perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it

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should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceeded he:

Now will Philotas perhaps say, that when Dimnus named all that were partakers of his conspiracie, he named not him. As for that it is no proof of his innocencie, but a token of his power and authoritie, because hee was spared of them that might best bewray him, which confessing of themselues, durst not speake of him. But what manner man he hath beene, his life doth shewe. Hee was fellowe and companion to Amintas my kinsman, which conspired high treason against my person in Macedon. He gaue his sister in marriage to Attalus, then whome I had neuer greater enemie. When by reason of olde friendship and familiaritie I wrote vnto him of the title giuen to mee by the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon, hee did not sticke to answere: that hee was very glad that I was admitted into the number of the Gods, howbeit verie sorie for those that should liue vnder such an one, as would exceede the state of a man. These were plaine tokens that his hart was turned from mee, and that he spited my glorie. Which I kepte close in my hart so long as I might. For I thought my bowels pulled from mee, if I should make a little store of them, for whome I had done so much. But now it is not their wordes that must be punished: for the rasines of their tongues is turned to swordes, which (beleeue mee) Philotas hath whetted to my destruction. Whome if I shoulde suffer to escape, alas my souldiors whither should I goe? To whom should I commit my person? Hee was the man that I made generall of my horsemen, of the greatest part of mine armie, and of all the noble yoong Gentlemen. To his truth and fi-

delitie haue I committed my ſafegard, my truſt, & victorie. His father did I prefer vnto the ſame eſtate, whereunto you aduaunced me, Media, than which there is not a richer countrey, with manie thouſandes of your friendes and fellowes haue I put vnder his gouernance and authoritie. Where I truſted of moſt ſuretie, there I founde moſt perill. How much more happie had I been to haue dyed in battrayle, and rather beene ſlaine of myne enemies, than thus betrayed of my ſubiects? For nowe beeing ſaued from the daungers which I moſt feared, I haue fallen into thoſe whiche I ought to haue doubted leaſt. You haue beene wont oftentimes to warne mee that I ſhoulde regard my ſuretie. It is not that may make me ſure of that you counſell mee. To your handes, and to your ſuccor I flie. I would not liue though I might againſt your wils, and though you would, yet can I not, except I be deliuered from mine enemies.

Hereupon Philotas was brought forth in an olde garment, his hands bound behind his backe. It well appeared how much this miſerable ſight mooued them which late before enuied him. The day before they ſaw him generall of the horſmen, they knew that he was at ſupper with the king, & ſodainly they ſaw him both priſoner bound like a theefe, & alſo condemned to die. So it did pittie their harts to conſider, how Parmenio ſo noble a man, ſo great a captain, which late hauing loſt two of his ſons, Hector & Nicanor, ſhould be put to anſwere abſent with the third ſonne, whome

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euill fortune had left him. The multitude being thus inclined to pittie, Amintas one of the kings officers, with a cruell tale set them all against the prisoner:

We be all (quoth he) betrayed to the barbarous nations, none of vs shall returne home to his countrey, wife, nor frendes, but a maimed bodye without a head, without honour, without fame, in a strange countrey, shall be a mocking stocke to our enemies.

His tale was nothing pleasant to the king, because he put the souldiers in remembrance of their wiues and countrey, whereby hee thought they would bee the lesse willing to goe forwardes in his warres. There was one Cenus, which though he had married the sister of Philotas, yet did hee more extreamlie enuye him than anie other, calling him traytour against his king, vnto his country, and to the whole armie. And thereupon tooke vp a stone that by chaunce lay at his feete, to haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some thought) to the ende hee might rid him from racking. But the king kept backe his hande, and saide that the prisoner should haue libertie to speake for himselfe, and would not suffer him to bee condemned otherwise. Then Philotas beeing admitted to speake, were it through the conscience of his offence, or through the greatnes of his perill, as a man

astonied, and beside himselfe, durst neyther looke vp, nor speak, but burst out into teares. Whereupon his hart fainted, and hee sowned down vpon those that led him. But afterward when he had wiped his eyes, and by little and little recouered his hart and tongue, he made countenance to speake. Then the king beheld him in the face, & said: The Macedons shall be thy Iudges. I would know therfore whether thou wilt speake to them in thy countrie language, or not? To whom Philotas answered: There bee diuers nations here besides the Macedons, which as I trust shal perceiue my wordes the better, if I vse the same language that you did, because more might vnderstand your tale. Then said the king, marke how this man hath his country tongue in hatred. For there is none but he that wil disdaine to speake it: but let him say what hee will, so long as you remember that hee not onely disdaineth our customes, but also our language. And with that worde the king departed from the assembly. Then said Philotas:

It is easie for an innocent to find words to speake: but it is very hard for a man in miserie to keepe a temperance in his tale. Thus standing betwixt a cleare conscience and most vnhappie fortune, I know not in what wise I shall satisfie my selfe, and the time both together. For hee that might best haue iudged my cause is gone: what the cause is

he

he would not heare me, I cannot well imagin, ſith vpon the matter heard it lyeth onely in his hands both to d ſcharge and condemn me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquite mee beeing abſent, ſince he condemned me when he was heere preſent. But notwithſtanding the defence of a priſoner is not onely ſuperfluous, but alſo hateful, which ſeemeth not to informe, but to reproue the iudge: yet will I not forſake my ſelfe, nor ſo doe, that I ſhall ſeeme condemned by mine owne default. I ſee not of what treaſon I ſhould be guiltie. Among the conſpirators no man named mee. Nichomachus ſayde nothing of mee. Ceballinus could not tel more of mee than he heard. And yet doth the king beleeue that I ſhould bee heade of this conſpiracie. Was it poſſible that Dimnus ſhould forget to name him that was chiefe? Or is it likely that he would haue ouerſlipped me, when the names of the conſpirators were demaunded of him? he would rather haue named me falſely to allure the yoong man the ſooner to his opinion: yet when he told the matter priuily to Nichomachus, whom he beleeued verily would haue kepte it ſecrete, naming himſelfe and all the reſt: of me onely he made no mention, wherein it cannot be gathered that hee omitted mee, for becauſe hee would haue ſpared mee. I pray you my fellowes, if no man had come to me, nor giuen me knowledge of the matter, ſhould I this day haue beene put to anſwer, when no man could haue accuſed me? but be it that Dimnus were aliue and would ſpare me what thinke ye by the other? would they confeſſe of themſelues, and forbeare me? Aduerſity is malicious and ſpiteſull. An offender when hee is puniſhed himſelfe, vſeth not to keep ſilence to ſpare another man. Commonly he that goeth to death

will

will ſpare no man, nor no man will ſpare him, that is ready to dye: and yet ſo manye as be gyltie, and put to tormentes, will there none confeſſe the trueth? But now I muſt anſwer to the point that was offence, if there were any. Why did I conceale treaſon? Why did I heare it with a ſmall regard? This fault, if it were a fault, thou haſt pardoned me (O Alexander) whereſoeuer thou art, by geuing me thy hand, & bidding me to thy banquet, in token of atonement. If you did beleeue me, I am cleare. If you forgaue me? I am quite. Stande at the leaſt to your owne iudgement. Alas what haue I done ſince this laſt night I went frō your boorde? What new reporte hath changed your minde? I reſted in a ſound ſlepe, when mine enemies by their binding waked me, that was ſleping in mine owne miſfortune. Offendours when they cannot ſleepe through their vnquiet conſcience are wont to be vexed with cares, not onely when their miſchief is intended, but alſo when it it is ended. But this quietnes came vnto mee firſt through mine owne innocencie, and then by the kings pardon. I feared not that others crueltie ſhould take more place, than his mercie. But leaſt hee ſhoulde forethinke that beleeued mee: yee ſhall vnderſtand that the matter was firſt ſhewed mee by a light fellowe, who could not bring anie witneſſe or warrantiſe of his tale: which if I had diſcloſed, ſhoulde haue put manie men to trouble. O vnhappie man, I thought mine eares had been ſeduced with the brabblements of two buggerers, and I ſuſpected the trouble of the partie, becauſe hee did not vtter the matter himſelfe, but procured his brother to doe it. I was in feare that the one ſhoulde haue denyed that euer he ſhewed anie ſuch matter to the other, and then

ſhould

ſhould I haue ſeemed to procure much trouble to many of the kings friends. So that where I offended none, I haue founde ſome more deſirous to procure my death, than to ſaue my life. What hatred ſuppoſe yee ſhould I haue gotten if I had accuſed innocentes? But Dimnus ſlewe himſelfe: could I therefore diuine afore that hee would ſo doe? No ſurely. Thus his death being the thing that onelie tried the accuſation true, coulde not mooue mee to vtter it, beeing preuented by another. And if I had beene a conſpiratour wyth Dimnus of ſo greate a treaſon: is it like that I would haue diſſimuled by the ſpace of two dayes after it was diſcouered? As for Ceballinus, it had beene ſmall maiſtery to haue diſpatched him out of the way. After the thing diſcloſed, wherefore ſhould I haue declared the matter? I entred into the kinges chamber alone, hauing weapon about mee: why deferred I my purpoſe? durſt I not attempt it without Dimnus? No perchaunce ye will ſay, becauſe he was the chiefe conſpiratour. How then ſtandeth it together, that I ſhould be his vnderling, which did couet to be king of Macedon? which of you all haue beene corrupt of mee with bribes? What Captaine, what Officer haue I made of aboue all other? It is layde to my charge that I abhorre the ſpeaking of my country language, and that I diſdaine the maners of the Macedons, What? do I diſpiſe the kingdome that I couet? Ye know well that our naturall tongue, through the conuerſation of ſtraunge nations is gone out of vre, as well we that be victorours, as they that be ſubdued, muſte learne a new language. But ſuerly theſe thinges make no more againſt me, then did the treaſon that Amintas the ſon of Perdicas intended againſt the king

whi

with him I had friendshippe I will not denie: excepte yee will make it a thing vnlawfull to loue the kinges brother But sithence it was our duetie to honour a man called to that degree of fortune, I beseech you, am I guilte because I could not gesse before that hee would offende? Is the lawe such, that the friends of offenders must suffer being innocentes? If that bee reason, why liue I so long? If it bee no reason, why am I condemned to die? But when I wrote I had pittie of them that should liue vnder such a one as beleued himselfe to be the sonne of Iupiter. O faithful friendship, and dangerous libertie of true counsell, that deceiued me, that compelled me not to hide that I thought. I confesse that I wrote so to the king, but not of the king. I did it not for spyte, but for my duties sake. I thought it more meete for Alexander to haue acknowledged the kinred of Iupiter with silence, than to haue made a vaunt thereof with vaine boasting. But for because the trueth of Gods Oracle is certaine, let God bee witnesse in my cause. Retayne mee in prison till yee maye know Iupiters answere concerning this conspiracie, and in the meane season he that hath vouchsafed our king to be his sonne, will suffer none of them that haue conspired against his ofspring, to be vnknowne. If you suppose torments more certaine than Oracles, I will not desire to bee saued from them in tryall of the trueth. There is an old vsage, that such as be put to answere vpon life & death, are wont to bring their parentes and kinsmen before you. Two brothers of late haue I lost: my father neyther can I bring forth, nor dare call for, because he is accused of this treason likewise. Is it a small thing for him that was the father of many children, and hauing but one sonne lefte in

whom

whom to take pleasure, not onely to lose him, but also to lose his owne life with him? Therefore my most deare father, shalt thou die for me, and with mee: It is I that take thy life from thee: It is I that ende thine old dayes: Why didst thou beget me vnhappie wretch in hatred of the Goddes, to take such fruite by mee, as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy or thine age. For I in the verie flower of my yeres am weeded vp, and the executioner shall bereaue thee thy life, which if fortune would haue suffered to continue, yet nature would haue asked it or it had beene long. The remembrance of my father doth put me in mind how loth and timerous I ought to haue beene to the report of tales. For when my father was informed that Philip the Phisitian had prepared poyson for Alexander, he wrote a letter to warne the king that hee shoulde not receue the medicine, which his Phisition had prepared. Was my father beleeued? Was his letter of anye authoritie? I my self when I haue reported such things as I heard, how often haue I been shaken of with a checke for my light beleefe So that when we tell things we are hated, and when we hold our peace we are suspected: what would you haue vs do?

**Then one of the companye that stoode by, cryed out, that none ought to be traitours to them which put them in trust:**

Thou sayest well (quod Philotas) whosoeuer thou art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I requyre no respit for my paine. And heere will I make an end of speaking, because my last wordes seeme tedious vnto your eares.

**As he was speaking these wordes, his kepers let**

ledde him away. There was amongst the captaines one Belon, a hardy man, but one very rude of all honest manners and ciuilitie, who being an ould souldiour, was promoted from lowe estate, to the rowme of a captaine. This Belon presuming vpon a foolish audacity (when all others had done,) began to tell them, that when diuers had taken vp their lodgings in the camp, how they were thrust out by the seruants of Philotas, which wold lay their baggage where other men wer placed, before: and how all the stretes were ful of his wagons, laden with golde and siluer. He added further that Philotas would suffer none to lodge neare him, but alwaies appointed certaine to wait whiles he slept, which should void all men aloufe, to thentent he should not be disquieted with any noise: not so much for wakening of him, as for his diseasing, & how he was so hayt that he dispysed the plain men of Phrigia, and Paphlagonia, and beeing a Macedon borne, would not be ashamd to hear men of his owne nation by an interpreter, and whereas Philotas had before moued to haue the oracle of Iupiter inquired of, hee saide it was ment therby to make God a lier, for acknowledging Alexander to be his sonne, as if any man should enuy the king for that title which the Gods had giuen him. But why (q. he)

he) did he not aske counsell at Iupiter before he did offend? For now he would haue vs send for an Oracle, that in the meane season his father which ruleth in media, might raise a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custody, assemble desperat persons to the fellowship of his mischief. Neuertheles we shal (quod he) send to Iupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the mater, but to giue him thanks, & do him sacrifice, for the preseruatiō of so good a king. Then all the company was moued, & amonges the kings houshold there began a cry, that the traitour should be rent in peeces. Which thing Philotas (whoe feared more greuous punishmēt) was cōtēt to heare The king returning into the preasse, differred the counsel til the nixt day, for to commit Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or els in the meane season to get further knowledge of things. And albeit it drew towards night, yet cōmanded he his coūsel to be called together. Som of thē thoght it best Philotas shold be stoned to death after ỳ Macedons lawes. Ephestion Craterus & Cenus, determined to haue the troth tryed by torments, & then they which concealed the contrary, turned to their opinion. Therefore when the councell was broken vp: Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus arose to take Philotas to the examinacion

nation. The king called Craterus vnto him and commanding the rest to auoid, had secret communication with him in the inmermoste part of his lodging, the effect whereof came not to anymans knowledge: And there taried till the night was farre past, to heare the end of the examination. The executioners set forth all sortes of cruell tormentes in the sight of Philotas, who of his owne minde said vnto them.

Why differre ye to kill such one as hath confessed himselfe the kings enemy, & a traitour? What needeth more examination? It was mine entent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was, that whatsoeuer was confessed before, should be confessed by Philotas againe vpon the rack. Which whiles he was taken vp, his eyes bounden, and spoyled of his clothes, cryed out vpon the law of nature, and the gods of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deafe eares. Finally as a condempned man, he was torne with most extreme torments by his enemies, that wrong him sore for the kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that both fyer and scourges were ministred vnto him, more to paine him then for any examinations sake: yet he had power of him selfe to refraine both from speking and groaning. But after that his body began

to bolne with stripes, and that he could not abyde the scourges, which pearced to the bare bones. Then he promised if they would torment him no more, he would confesse what soeuer they should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the lyfe of Alexander, that they should cease their torments, and set the rack aside. The which thing obtained, he saide to Craterus: Tell mee what ye will haue me to confesse? Thereat Craterus was displeased, thinking by those words, that he had mocked him, and caused his torments to be renued. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whiles he might take his breath, and then he woulde vtter all that euer he knew. In the meane season, the chiefe of the men at armes, and especially such as were neare to Parmenio in any degree of kinrid, after that the fame hadde bruted that Philotas was tormented, fearing the Macedons lawe (wherein it was ordayned that the kinsfolke of suche as hadde done treason against the king, should be put to death with the traitours: some slewe them selues, some fled into wilde mountaines, and waste wildernesses, and great dread & feare fel through all the hoast, vntill such tyme as the king hauing knowledge of the vproare, made Proclamation that he would pardon the rigour of

the law to the kinsfolke of the traitors. But in conclusion Philotas made this confession, whether it were to deliuer himselfe out of paine by accusing himselfe falsly or not, it is doubted: seeing it is commonly seene, that both such as truely confesse, and falsely deny, come all to one ende.

You are not ignorant (quod he) howe familiar my father was with Egilocus. I meane the same that was slaine in the felde: he was the cause of all our mischiefe. For when the king tooke vpon him the title of Iupiters sonne, he disdained therat. Shall we knowledge him (quod he) to bee our king, that taketh scorne that Philip was his father? We are all vndone if we can suffer this. Hee dooth not onely despise men, but the Gods also, which wyll bee reputed a God. Wee haue lost Alexander, we haue lost our king. We are fallen to presumption, neyther tollerable to the Gods with whom he compareth, neyther to men whom he despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which despiseth vs: which disdaineth to be in the number of men? Truste me that we also if we be men, shalbe adopted likewise of the gods. Who hath reuenged the deaths of Aexander his grandfather, or of Archilaus or Perdicas? But this man (quod he) hath forgiuen them that slew his father.

These were the woords that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morrow early my father sent for me, who was heauye, and saw me sad, for we both had heard that which made

made vs out of quiet. Therefore to proue whether he babled those words through excesse of wine, or of an aduised purpose conceiued before, we thought good to send for him, and seeking occasion of the same communication, he of his owne minde sayd further: that if we durst vndertake the aduenture hee would not shrink from vs, or if our harts serued not, he would keepe our counsaile. Yet so long as Darius was liuing, my father thoght all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexander should be to the auaile of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once rid out of the waye, then hee that could destroy the king, should obtaine the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his reward: which counsaile being approued, faith & troth was giuen thereupon: but concerning Dimnus I know nothing. When he had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quod he) that it dooth not auaile me that I am vtterly giltles of this treason. Then they renued his torments againe, and so beate his face and his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, vntill they enforced him, not only to confesse of himselfe, but also to shew the circumstances of the whole treason prepensed.

Because (quod hee) it seemeth that the king would soiourne long among the Bactrians, I was

afraide leaſt my father that had ſo great a power in his hands, and the keeping of ſo much treaſure (beeing foureſcore yeares of age) ſhould happen to die in the meane ſeaſon, and then being diſarmed of ſo great a ſtrength, ſhould not get opportunitie to ſlea the king. Wherefore I haſted the matter, whileſt the pray was in hand.

Thus diſcouered he the conſpiracie, whereof if they believed his father to be author (hee ſaide) for his triall hee refuſed not to bee tormented againe, though it were too greeuous for him to indure. The officers then whiſpering together, thought the examination to be ſufficient, and returned therewithall vnto the king, which on the morrow cauſed all the confeſſion there to be openly recited before Philotas: whome he cauſed to bee ledde into the place, becauſe he was not able to go, and ther he confeſſed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought forth, who was counted the greateſt doer in this conſpiracie nexte to Philotas. But he with great proteſtation and incredible ſtoutnes both of hart and countenance, denied that hee euer intended any euill againſt the king, and for his triall deſired to bee tormented Then Philotas caſting his eyes about, ſpied one Calis ſtanding by, and made a ſigne to him to draw neare: who beeing abaſhed, and refuſing to come forwards: Wilt thou (quoth hee) ſuffer Demetrius to lie,

lie, and me to be strained against. With those wordes Calis became speachles, and chaunged colour. Then the Macedons beganne to suspect that he woulde accuse innocentes, because the same Calis was neither named by Nichomachus, nor by Philotas himselfe in his torments. But finally Philotas before the kings officers standing therabout, confessed that the treason was conspired by himselfe & Demetrius. Therefore as manie as were appeached by Nichomachus vppon a token giuen, were stoned to death according to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexander deliuered from great peril, not onely of his life, but also of his surety. For Parmenio & Philotas beeing of such power, if they had not openly beene founde culpable, could not haue beene condemned without the grudge of the armie. So long therefore as Philotas denyed ye thing, the matter seemed doubtfull, & manie men thought him cruelly handeled. But after hee had confessed the circumstances, no man, not so much as his neare friendes tooke anie pittie of him.

# The seauenth Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of Alexander the great, King of Macedon.

LIke as the men of war thought Philotas iustly put to death, his offence being fresh in memorie, euen so after hee was gon, whom they before hated, their enuie was turned to pitie. The noblenesse of the young man mooued them much: so did the remembrance of the olde yeeres and desolation of his father. He was the first that made the way open for Alexander into Asia, alwayes partaker of his perils, as he which in the wars was euer captaine of his vaward, cheefe counsaile with the king his father, and so trustie to Alexander himselfe, that in oppressing of Attalus his enemy, hee would vse none other mans seruice. The remembrance of these things was ripe among all the souldiers, and seditious words came to the kings eares, who being little mooued therewith, did wisely with trauaile

uaile auoide the euill occasions comming of
idlenes: wherfore he made it to be proclaimed
that all men should be in readines before the
court gate, where they being once assembled,
he came fooorth to speake vnto them. And as
it was before deuised, required the bande of
the Agrians to bring fooorth one Alexander
Lynceſtes, which long before Philotas had
conspired the Kings death. This man being
accused of two witnesses (as before saide) had
remained in prison three yeares together. A-
gainst whom it was prooued that he was of
counsaile with Pausanias in the killing of
King Philip. But because he saluted first A-
lexander by the name of King, his punish-
ment was differred, rather thē his offence for-
giuen. For at the intercession of Antipater
his father in lawe, the King had respited his
iust indignation for that time. But the old se-
stered sore brake out againe, and the consider-
ation of his perill present, renued the re-
membrance of his daunger passed. Therfore
when he was brought fooorth of prison, and
commaunded to say for himselfe, albeit hee
had three yeares leasure to deuise his aun-
swer, yet stammering and trembling could
bring fooorth but little of that which he pur-
posed to say. And finally, both his heart & his
memory failed him: wherfore there was none

that doubted, but that his fearefulnes was a token of a guiltie conscience, and no default of memorie, so that whilest he was staggering and hacking in his tale, they that stoode nexte thrust him through with their pikes: whose bodie conueied out of the place, the king commaunded Amintas and Simmannas to bee brought foorth: for Palemon their yoongest brother, after hee had knowledge of Philotas torment, fled away. Of all Philotas feiends, these two were most deare to him, & through his commendation aduaunced to high and honorable offices. The king remembring with what earnestnes and labour Philotas had brought them into his fauor, doubted not but they were priuy to this last conspiracy. Wher vpon he declared vnto the multitude, that hee had occasion of suspition agaynst those men long agoe by his mothers letters, wherby he had warning to beware of them, & that nowe fearing the sequele of worser inconueniences had made them sure, inforced thereunto by apparant presumptions. First he saide, the daye before Philotas treason came to light, it was well knowne that they had much conference with him in secret: and also their brother who fled away when Philotas was on the racke, hee had declared by the absenting of himselfe, the cause of his flying. He shewed also that of late,

late, contrary to their accustomed manner of waiting, without any cause mouing them thereunto, but onely by pretence of diligence they pressed next about the king of all other: whereat maruelling that they would furnish a roome whereunto they were not appointed, became so in doubt of their clustring together that hee returned into the traine of the Gentlemen that followed him. He declared beside that when Antiphanes clarke of the stable, the day before Philotas treason came to light according to his accustomable manner, gaue knowlege to Amintas that he should deliuer of his horse to such as had lost their owne: hee proudly answered againe, that except he wold content him selfe, he should know shortely what maner of man he was. Which violence of tongue and rashnes of wordes bulked oute (quod he) was nothing els but a declaration and token of his traiterous harte. These things being trewe (hee saide) they hadde no lesse deserued then Philotas, and if they weare otherwyse, hee desyred they might answere vnto the points. Thereuppon Antiphanes was brought in to geue euidence of the horse not delyuerd, & of his proude answer geuen with threatning. When Amintas had gotten lybertye to speake, hee desyred of the Kinge that whyles they answered

swered for themselues, their handes might bee loosed: which thing obtained, hee made suite to haue his garment to bee cast vppon him. Which Alexander not onely granted, but willed a weapon to be deliuered vnto his hands, as other esquiers vsed. When hee had receiued the same, he eschued a litle the place, where the corpes of Lincestes lay, and saide in this wise.

Whatsoeuer shall become of vs (sir King) wee must thinke if our chaunce bee good, the same to proceed of your fauour, and if it be euill, we must iudge the fault to be in our fortune, seeing you suffer vs to pleade our cause without preiudice, setting our mindes free, and our bodies at large, with the same apparell restoring vs, wherein wee were wont to follow you. Our cause is such, that we cannot doubt of it, and we are passed the feat of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I will answere first those pointes wherewith you charged vs last. We know most assuredly that we be innocent of any kind of words spoken to the derogation of your Maiestie: and durst affirme that you had ouercome all enuie of men, but that peraduenture you would thinke that I went about with faire wordes to excuse thinges that haue beene maliciously spoken. Though it were so that words somtime did escape vs, either when we were faint or wearied in marching, hazarding our selues in fighting, or els when we were sicke, or dressing of our wounds: our honest doings otherwise doe deserue, that yee should rather impute the same to the time, than to any euill disposition in vs: For it

is commonly seene where any thing chanceth amisse, al men in maner become guilty of the fault. Wee doe violence sometime to our owne bodyes, which we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fathers vnto the children sometime is both vngratfull, and also hatefull. But on the other side, when we receiue rewards or gifts, or when we come laden home with spoile, who can then stay vs? who can restraine our chearefulnes? or who can resist our courage in fighting? the nature of man is neither to keepe measure in displeasure, nor in gladnes. Thus are we driuen by the violence of affection, somtime with pitie, and sometime with furie, as our present desire doth gouerne vs. One while we are in mind to passe throgh India as far as the Ocean sea, & by and by the memorie of our wiues children, and country call vs back againe, & doth alter our purpose. But assoon as the trumpet soundeth, straight all these imaginations do pas away, & euery man then runneth into his array, reuenging vpon their enemies the displeasures conceiued within their lodginges. I would Philotas had offended but onely in wordes. I would passe ouer that, and return to the other point, wherof we be accused. The frendship that was betwixt Philotas and vs, I will not only denie, but also confesse that we did couet the same, and receiued therby great commoditie. Doe you maruel that we did honour and esteeme the son of Parmenio, whome you did chuse to bee next about your person, and did aduance aboue all other your friends? You your self (if it please you to heare the truth) are the cause of this our perill. What other thing mooued vs to couet Philotas frendship, then that we desired to please you. By his preferment we were aduanced vnto your fauour. Hee stoode in such case with you,

you that it behoued vs as wel to ſue for his beneuolence, as to feare to get his diſpleaſure. Haue not we ſworne that wee ſhould repute your enemies our enemies? and honor your friends as our owne? Should we haue beene found diſobedient in this bond of our dutie? and ſpecially towardes him, whom yee did preferre aboue all men? If this be a fault, ye haue fewe innocents, or ſurely none at all. All men deſired to be Philotas friends: but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if yee will make no difference betweene the partners of his treaſon, and ſuch as were his friendes: then ſo manie bee offenders as would haue beene his friendes. What preſumption haue you nowe that wee ſhould offende? I thinke becauſe yeſterday Philotas talked with vs familiarly alone. Thereof I cannot excuſe my ſelfe, if yeſterday I chaunged anie thing of mine accuſtomed maner & liuing, but if ſo bee wee vſed euerie day to doe the like, then cuſtome muſt needes make it to be none offence. But it may be ſaid the horſes were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the day before Philotas was detected, this matter was betwixt Antiphanes and mee. If that bee a iuſt cauſe of ſuſpection that I would not then deliuer my horſes, ther ſhall ariſe a doubtfull plea betweene the denyer and the demaunder, ſauing that his cauſe is better that keepeth ſtil his own, then his that requyreth another mans. I had tenne horſes, of the which Antiphanes had diſtributed eight, to ſuch as had loſt their owne: ſo there remained onelye two, which when he would proudly & wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keepe them ſtill, except I would haue ſerued on foote. I can not denye, but this communication was had betwene a man of a free ſtomake, and a perſon of a

vyle

vyle nature, which I coulde do no manner ſeruice, but take away mennes horſes, and geue them to other. What miſchiefe is this, that at one time I muſt purge my ſelfe both to the kinge & to Antiphanes. But to the other point that your mother did wryte to you of vs, as of your enemies: I would God ſhe had more wiſely ben careful of hir ſonnes ſafeguarde, then doubtfully ymagined ſuch fained figures. Why dothe ſhe not alſo expreſſe the cauſe of her feare? Beſides ſhe ſheweth not her author, nor yet ſignifieth one worde whereby ſhe was moued to write to you ſuch letters of feare. O wretched eſtate of mine, which ſtādeth in leſſe hazard to hold my peace, then to ſpeake. Yet howſoeuer the mater ſhal paſſe: I had rather mine excuſe ſhulde diſpleaſe you, then my cauſe. If you remember when you ſent me to fetch new ſouldiours out of Macedon, euen then ye ſhewed me, that in your motheres houſe there lurked many luſty young gentlemen: Wherefore ye commaunded me, that in executing your commiſſion, I ſhoulde ſpare none, but bring with mee perforce, all ſuch as refuſed the warres. Which thing I did, and fulfilled your will therein more largely then was expedient for me. For I brought vnto you Gorgeus, Hecateus, & Gorgata, which now miniſter vnto you right acceptable ſeruice. What creature therefore is more wretched then I, which if I had not fulfilled your wil, ſhould right fully haue ſuffered, and now periſh, becauſe I obeied you? For truely there was none other cauſe that moued your mother to perſecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitye before a womans fauour. I brought vnto you of Macedons ſix thouſand, and eight houndred horſemen, of the which the more parte would not haue followed

lowed mee, if I had releaſed ſuch as would not haue come. It is reaſon therefore, that in as much as your mother is diſpleaſed with vs for your cauſe, that ye mittigate her in whoſe diſpleaſure ye haue put vs.

Whyles Amintas was thus pleading his cauſe, they that had purſued his brother Palemon (of whome wee ſpeake) came leading him bound into the place. Then the rage of the people could ſcarſely bee pacified, but as the manner was in ſuch caſes, they would haue ſtoned Palemon to death. Yet he boldly ſpake to them and ſaid.

I deſire no fauour for my ſelfe, ſo that my flying be not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren, whom if ye cannot thinke cleare, let the fault bee laide to mee. For their matter appeared the better, becauſe I which fled away am ſuſpected.

As ſoone as he had ſpoken theſe words, the whole aſſembly were enclyned in his fauour, and reſolued to teares, being ſo ſodainelye ſo contrary turned, that now they were all conuerted on his part, which a litle before were al againſt him: he was in the prime flower of his youth, & through other mens feare fled away amongs thoſe horſemen, which were amazed at Philotas torments. His company had left him behinde, and whiles he was in doubt whether he might turne againe, or flye further forwardes, was taken by them which purſewed after him. He than began to

weepe,

weepe, and beat him ſelfe about the face: not ſo muche lamenting his owne chaunce, as that caſe of his brethren beeing in danger for his cauſe, with which his behauiour he moued the king and all the company there preſent. Onely his brother Amintas could not be pacified, but beheld him with a fierce countenance, and ſaid:

O madde creature, then oughteſt thou to haue wept, when thou diddeſt put thy ſpurres to thy horſe, as a traitour to thy brethren, and a companion to traitours. Thou wretch, whither, and from whence diddeſt thou flee? Thou haſte now brought to paſſe, that both I am thought worthye of death, and alſo muſt become an accuſer of others.

Palemon theruppon confeſſed himſelfe to haue offended in that point, but more greauouſly againſt his brethren, then towardes himſelfe. Then the multitude could not abſtaine from weeping and ſhowting: beeing tokens whereby men in aſſembly are woont to declare their affections: and with one conſent they cryed all to the king with one voice, that he ſhould ſpare innocentes, and men of ſeruice: his frendes alſo vppon that occaſion did riſe, and with weeping eyes required the king of mercie. Then he commanded ſilence, and ſaid.

By myne owne iudgement I doe pardon both you Amintas and your brethren, deſirous that ye

ſhould

should be more mindfull of my benefite, then of your owne ieopardy. Come in fauour again with me, with that fidelity I am reconciled vnto you. Except those things which were brought in euidence, had bene debated and tryed, to the vttermost, my dissimulation might haue beene suspec- in this matter. Better it is therefore to be cleared then to remaine in ielousie, & thinke that no man can be acquited, except hee bee first detected. Thou Amintas, pardon thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart reconciled vnto mee

This done, the King dismissed the assemblie, and sent for Poledamus, whome of all men Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwayes to stand nyst him in battaill. And thogh the clearenes of his conscience did assure him to come boldly: Yet after he wos commanded to bring forth his brethren being but young, and vnknowen to th the king, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubte, imagining in his mynde rather such thinges as might hurt him, then by what meanes hee was thus circumuented. In the meane season the Guarde which had commaundement thereunto, brought forth his brethren. When the King sawe Poledamus pale for feare, he called him neare, and commaunding all men aparte, said vnto him:

Through Permenio his treason, wee were all in daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whome vnder colour of frendship he deceaued most. In the pursuing

ing & punishment of whome, see how much I trust thy fidelitie: for I am determined to vse thee as a minister therein, and whiles thou goest about it, thy brethren shall be thy pledges. Thou shalt goe into Media, and beare my letters to my officers, written with mine owne hand. It is necessary haste bee made, that the swiftnes of the fame may bee preuented. I wil that ye come thither in the night and that the tenour of my writing bee executed the day after. Ye shall carrie letters likewise vnto Parmenio, one from mee; and another written in the name of Philotas. I haue his signet in my custodie. So that when Parmenio shall see both you, and the letter sealed with his sonnes ring, he will be without any suspition.

Polidamus being thus deliuered of fear, promised his diligence a great deal more earnestly than he was required. When Alexander sawe his promptnes in the matter, both commended his good wil, and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell, and tooke other after the Araby fashion, with two men of the same country to be his guides, for whose truth their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels through such places as were desert for lacke of moysture, & within eleuen dayes came vnto their iourneys ende, before any knew of their comming. Polidamus then tooke again his Macedons apparell, and in the dead of the night,

came into Cleanders lodging, which had the chiefe authoritie there, next vnto Parmenio. When Cleander by his letters vnderstoode the kings pleasure, Polidamus hauing more letters to deliuer likewise to others, agreede by the spring of the day to goe altogether to Parmenio. As they wer going, tidings came to Parmenio of Polidamus arriuall, who reioicing both for the comming of his friend, and for the desire he had to know of the kings estate (the rather because hee had receiued no letter from him a long space) commaunded Polidamus to be sought out. The houses of that country haue large backe sides, & pleasant orchards full of trees, being the chiefe delight of Princes, and great Lords there. The Capitaines which had receiued commaundement by the kings letters to kil him, came to Parmenio, walking vnder the shadow of the trees, beeing agreed amongst themselues to execute the thing, when hee should beginne to read his letters. So soone as Parmenio had espied Polidamus comming a farre off, with a semblant of ioy (as appeared by his countenance) ranne to imbrace him. and after salutation giuen ech to other, deliuered the kings letter. As he was vnclosing it, he demaunded of Polidamus what the king intended to do: you shal know that (quod he) by the contents

of

of our letters. Which when he had read: I perceiue (quod Parmenio) that the king purposed a voyage against the Arachosians: surly he is a painful prince, and neuer in rest. But now after so much glory worne it were time for him to take his ease, and haue consideration of his health and laue guarde. And then hee read the other letter written in the name of Philotas, whereat he was ioyful, as appeared by his countenaunce. With that Cleander stabbed him with his sword in the side, and after striking him ouer the throate, the residue thrust him in as he lay dying. But Parmenio his men which stoode neare at hand, and sawe the murder, whereof they knewe not the cause, ran into the campe, and with their troublous tydings, set all the souldiers in a roze. They ran straight to a resse, and clustring together about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamation, that except Polidamus and the other doers of that deede were deliuered to their handes, they would ouerthrow the wall, and make sacrifice to their dead capitain, with the bloud of the offendors. Cleander willed the chiefe of them to be let in, & recited the kinges letters, wherin was contained the treason of Parmenio intended against him, with a request to thē to see it reuenged. Then immediatly vpon the

kings pleasure knowne, the sedition was appeased, but the grudge was not rid out of their harts. The most part departed sauing a few, which required instantly that at the least they might be suffered to burie the bodie. It was denied them long by reason of Cleander, who dreaded the kinges displeasure: but because they began to waxe more earnest, intending to auoid matter of sedition, he cut off the head which hee sent to the king, and lefte them the body to burie. This was the ende of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre and peace: many thinges had he done valiantly without the king, but the king without him did neuer any thing worthy prayse. He serued & satisfied in all affaires a king most happy & fortunate, and being threescore & ten yeres of age, executed the office of a Captaine as liuely as though he had been yong in yeares, and pretermitted not oftentimes the parts of a common souldior. He was quicke in counsel, douty of deed, welbeloued of al princes, but most deare to the common sort of souldiors. Yet whether those thinges moued him to be king, or els caused him to be suspected thereof, it is yet to be doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas spake, when he was ouercome with the pains in his last torments were true or false, or els that hee sought an ende of his

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paine by accusing himself falsly, it was much doubtful, seeing there was no such thing proued at such time as the matter was moste fresh in memory. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were separated from the rest of the army, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas theyr Captaine, which in times past was of neare familiaritie with Parmenio: The king bare priuy displeasure against them, and therefore willing to proue the disposition of euery mā. gaue warning throughout the army, that all such as would write into Macedonia, & haue their letters surely conueyed, should bring them to be carryed with such as hee would send. Whereuppon euery man did wryte frankly to their friends such things as were in their harts. Some shewed themselues to be offended with the long warres, & some seemed to be well pleased. But all their letters were intercepted, as wel of such as commended the king, as of those that grudged at his doinges. Wherfore he willed such as by their letters disclosed themselues to bee wearie of the trauaple of the warres, or theyr reproach to be put in band apart from the rest. Whereby he both gaue them occasion to shewe their hardines, and besides remooued the libertie of their tongues from the credulous eares of

the rest. Which rash deuise, as al other things turned to the setting foorth of the kinges felicitie. For in all extremities they shewed themselues the readiest and the most forward: & whilest they coueted to redeem their reproch, their valiant doings could not be hidden in so small a number separate by themselues.

These things being ordered after this maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the *Arians*, and proclaimed his iourney against the *Arasp-ians*: which, by changing of their name, were called *Euergitans*, since the time that they relieued Cirus army with lodging & victuals being afflicted with cold and penurie. It was the fift day before hee entred into their country, where he vnderstood that Satribarzanes which tooke Bessus part, was with a power of horsemen entred againe amongst the *Arians*. Hee sent against him Caranus and Exigius, and in their ayde Artabasus and Andromachus with sixe thousand Greeke footmen, and sixe hundred horsemen. Alexander continued three score dayes in setting order amongst the Euergitans: vpon whome he bestowed a great summe of money, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towardes Cirus: and leauing Amenides to bee their gouernour (who was Darius Secretarie) he went to subdue the *Arachosians*, which border vpon

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the Sea of *Ponte*. The men of warre which were vnder Parmenio his rule, came then to Alexander, beeing six thousand Macedons, with two hundred of the Nobility, fiue thousand Greeke footmen, and two hundred horsmen, which were the chiefest force of his power. To these *Arachosians*, Mennon was appointed Lieutenant, with foure thousand footmen, and six hundred horsemen.

Alexander from thence entered with his Armie into a Country not knowne vnto such as bordered vppon it: for the inhabitantes would not haue conuersation with anie other people. They were called *Paramisadans*, beeing a verie rusticall kind of men, and most rude amongst all the barbarous nations: the hardnesse of the country had so indurated their dispositions. They lye moste towardes the colde North pole, ioyning with the Bactrians vppon the West, and bending towardes the Indian sea vppon the South. They vse to builde their houses of bricke, and because the lande is full of barreine mountaines, and voide of timber, they make their whole houses of the same, which beginning broade beneath, growing euermore narrowe towardes the toppe, and lyke the keeles of a Shippe, whereas the holes be made aboue to receyue light. Such of their

pines and trees that bring forth fruit, as they will preserue from the violẽce of the cold, they couer them with earth during the winter season, and when the snowe is vanished away, they restore them againe to the aire & to the sun, The earth was there couered with snow frosen so harde, that there remained no signe of any bird or beast within the country. The aire besides was so darke, that little light appeared: but the earth couered as it were with a dimme shadow, men could scarsely discerne things very neare at hand. The army brought into this country, destitute of all the cultuation of man, suffered al the discommodities and miseries that might be endured, both of hunger, cold, wearines, and despaire. There were many of them that died for cold, and the snow destroyed their feet: but specially it perished many mens sight. When they were wearyed and not able to trauaile any further, they layd themselues downe vpon the frosen snow, and hauing once lefte the motion of their bodyes, which stirred in them their naturall heate, they were straight wayes so nummed with colde, that they could not rise agayne, tyll they were lifted vp by their companions. And remedie in this matter was there none, but to compell them to goe forwards: for then by stirring of themselues their naturall heate

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was reuiued, and they recouered again some strength. Such as recouered the cotages wherin the countreymen dwelled, were verie wel refreshed. But the darknes was so great, that the houses could not be otherwise discerned then by the smoke. The inhabiters that had neuer seen strangers before amongst them, when they beheld the armed men comming so sainly vpon them, were amased for feare, and brought foorth whatsoeuer they had, to saue theyr bodyes from violence. Alexander wente on his feete amongst his men, raising such as were lying, and releeuing such as he saw afflicted with the colde, with his owne clothes. He was seene, one while in the forewarde, another while in the middest, and somtime in the rereward, to the great trauaile of his bodye. At length they came to places better manured, where hee refreshed his army with plentye of victuals, and there remained in campe till such time as all that were left behinde, came vnto their fellowes. Then he went forwards with his armie to the Mount Caucasus, which deuideth all Asia into two parts. For on the one side it stretcheth towards the sea of Cilicia, and on the other side to the Caspian sea, to the riuer of Araxes, and the deserts of Scithia. To this mount Caucasus, there ioyneth

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neth an other Mountain called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, which riseth from Capadocia, and passing by Cilicia, closeth with the Mountaines of Armenia. Out of these Mountaines ioyning thus together as it were in one continuall ridge, all the Riuers of Asia do descend. Some of them running into the Red sea, some into the Caspian and Hircanian sea, and other into the Sea of Ponte. In xvii. dayes Alexander with his armie passed the mount Caucasus, where in a rocke that is ten furlongs in compasse, and fower in heygth, the antiquitie fained that Prometheus laye bound. At the foote of this mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a citie, wherein he placed vii. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and such other besides, whose seruice he would not vse any moze in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celeritie, made sacrifice vnto the gods of his countrey, and according to the custome of those nations, consulted with his friends & his Capitaines, for the maintenance of the warres being at meate. And when they were wel charged with wine, they extolled greatly their owne power, dispising the rashnes of their enemies, and their small number. But chiefly Bessus was most

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arrogant in his wordes, who puffed vp with pride by reason of the kingdome he had newly gotten by treason, & not master of his wits, began to declare, howe that Darius by his folly had encreased his enemies fame, who would needs fight with them in the streights of Cilicia, when by retyring backe hee might haue drawne them (before they had bin ware) into desert places, and there haue put riuers and mountaines betweene his enemies & him, and amongst the same so enclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse make any resistance. Wherefore (he said) he was become of opinion to retire back amongst the Sogdians, whereas the riuer of Oxus should be as a wal betwixt him and his enemies, till such such time as he might assemble a strõg power of the nations therabout: knowing very well that the Chorasmions, the Dahans, & Sacans, the Indians & Scithians, inhabiting beyond ỹ riuer of Tanais, would come to his assistance: of whom there was none so little, that any Macedon with the top of his head could reach to his shoulders. They all in their drunkennes assented to him, affirming that only to be the wisest way: whervpõ Bessus caused the wine to be caried about plentifully to conquer Alexan. vpon drink. There was at the feast one

Cobares

Cobares a Median, which in the Arte Magike (if it be an Arte, and not rather a diſceit of ſome vaine man) was more notable by his profeſſion then by his knowledge, but otherwiſe a moderate and an honeſt man. He making a preamble before his tale, ſayd: He was not ignorant how much better it were to bee obedyent to others counſel, then to be a counſell giuer. For ſuch as be folowers of other mens deuiſes, are ſure to haue no worſe fortune then the reſt: but ſuch as be authors and perſwaders of any matter, commonlie prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the Cup he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this reſpect may be called peruers and euill, becauſe euery one can ſee better in other mens matters then in their owne. Their counſels muſt needes bee alwayes full of perturbations, which take their owne aduiſe. For feare is impediment to ſome, deſire vnto other, and to many the ſelfe loue of the thing that they haue deuiſed. I will not ſpeake of pride, nor impute it vnto any man. Ye haue ſeene experience how euery one doth eſteeme that thing onely to be beſt, which hee himſelfe hath inuented. The Diademe of a king that you weare vpon your head is a great burden: which if it be borne moderatelye, the weight thereof will oppreſſe the bearer. It is not furie can auaile in this caſe, but wiſe and prudent counſaile.

When

When he had spoken these words, he rehearsed a prouerbe commonly vsed amongst the Bactrians, which is, that a fearefull dog doth barke more then bite, and that the deepest riuers dooth runne with least noyse. Which things I haue rehearsed, because such prudence may appeare as remayned amongst the Barbarous. As he talked after this manner, such as heard him wondered to what ende his tale would come. Then he began to shew his aduise, which was more profitable to Bessus then gratefull.

Alexanders celeritie (quod he) is such that he is come in maner to the entrey of your court. He can remoue his army before you can remoue this table. You say that you will draw your assistance from the riuer of Tanais, and that you will put riuers betwixt you and your enemies. I woulde knowe if he bee not able to folowe, whereseuer you shall flye. If the waye bee indifferent, it must needes be most easie and assured to the victorer. And though you thinke feare will make much speede, yet hope is more swift. It were therefore me thinkes expedient to procure the fauour of him that is the mightiest, and yeeld your selfe to the stronger. Howsoeuer he shall accept it, your fortune is more like to bee better that way, then to remayne still an enemie. Consider that you possesse another mans kingdome, and therefore ye may the better departe therewithall. For yee cannot be a iust king, til you receiue the kingdom of him that is able to giue it, and take it away.

This

This is a faithfull counsell: wherfore it is not necessary to delay the execution therof. The horse that is of noble courage will bee gouerned with the shadow of a rod. But the dul beast is not pricked forward with the Spurres.

Bessus that was fierce of nature and well set forwards with drinking, became in such a furie with his words, that hee could scarcely be holden by his friends from the slaying of Cobares, for he pulled out his sword to haue done the deed, and departed out of the feast in a great rage. But Cobares in this stur escaped away, and came vnto Alexander. Bessus had viii. M. Bactrians armed attending vpon him: which so long as they iudged that by reason of the intemperatenes of the ayre in those parties, the Macedons would rather haue gone into India then into Bactria, were very obedient at his commaundement. But when they vnderstood that Alexander was comming towards them, euery one shrunke away, & forsooke Bessus. Then he with a band of his familie which were yet faithfull vnto him, passed the riuer of Oxus, burning such boats as carryed him ouer, because that the same should not serue his enemy in folowing him, & assembled a new power among the Sogdians. Alexander as it hath bin said before, passed the mount Cau-

caſus:

caſus: but for lacke of corne his armie was brought in maner to the extremity of hunger. In ſtede of oyle they were faine to anoynt themſelues with a iuce which they wring out of Seſema: but euery meaſure thereof called Amphora was ſolde for cccl. deniers: euery like meaſure of honey for cccc. and of wine for ccc. and yet of the ſame was very little to be gotten. They haue in that countrey certaine veſſels called Sirpe, which thinhabitants vſe to hide ſo priuily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The countreymen bury their corne after that maner, for want whereof the Souldiours were faine to liue with hearbs, & ſuch fiſh as they caught in the riuers. But that kinde of food wanting alſo, they were enforced to ſlea their cariage beaſts, and liued with the fleſhe of them till they came into Bactria, the nature of the ſoile of which countrey is diuers and of ſundry kindes. Some place is plentifull of wood and Vines, and abounddaunt of pleaſaunt fruite, the grounde fatte, well watered and full of ſpringes. Thoſe partes which bee moſt temperate are ſowed with corne, and the reſt bee reſerued for feeding of beaſts. But the greater part of that countrey is couered ouer with barraine ſands, and withered vp for want of moiſter,

nou-

nourishing neither man, nor bringing foorth frute: But with certaine windes that come from the Sea of Ponte, the sande in the plaines is blowne together in heapes, which seeme a farre of like great hyls, whereby the accustomed wayes bee so dammed, that no signe of them can appeare. Therefore such as doe passe those playnes, vse to obserue the starres in the night, as they doe which sayle the seas, by the course of them directing their iourney. The nightes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes: wherefore in the day time the countrey is wilde and vnpassable, when they can neither finde any tracte nor way to go in, nor marke nor signe wherby to passe, the starres being hidden by the mist. If the same winde chaunce to come during the time that men bee passing, it ouerwhelmeth them with sand. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth foorth great plenty both of men and horse: So that the Bactrians may make xxx. thousand horsemen. Bactria which is the head citie of that region, standeth vnder a mountaine called Parapanisus: the riuer called Bactras runneth by the walles, whereof both the Cittie and the countrey take their names. Alexander lying there in campe, receiued aduertisement out of Greece, how the Lacedemonians,

aus, and the whole countrey of Peloponese had rebelled against him. For they had not lost the battaile at such time as the messēgers were dispatched that brought the newes of their reuolt. In the neck of this euill tidings there came another present terrour, which was that the Scithians inhabiting beyond the riuer of Tanais were comming to ayde Bessus. And at the same time tidings came to him of the battaile that Caranus and Erigius had fought with the Arians, where Satibarzanes that was newly reuolted being chiefe of the countrey, seeing the battaile to remaine equal on both sides, rid into the foreffront, & plucked of his helmet, forbidding any of his side either to cast dart, or strike stroke, and there made a challenge to fight hand to hande, if any man durst come foorth & proue his strength. Erigius captaine to the Macedons was a man striken in yeares, but yet not inferiour to any young man, eyther in stoutnes of stomacke, or strength of bodye, who could not beare the proud arrogancie of Satibarzanes, but stepped forwards, & plucking of his helmet likewise, shewed his hoary hayre. The daye is come (quod he) that I wyll shewe eyther by the victorye, or by my honest death, what kinde of men Alexander hath to his friends and his Souldiours: and

without more words made towards his e
mie. It could not be iudged, but that both
mies had stayed their hands by appointme
For they gaue back immediatly on both sid
to let them haue free scope, each partie st
ding in expectation what should becom of
challengers: For they could not but thi
themselues partakers of their aduenture.
tibarzanes first charged his staffe, whi
Erigius auoyded by bending his heade asi
but hee in the middest of his race, strake
other with his speare through the throte,
that it came foorth agayne at his necke Sa
barzanes vppon that stroke fell downe fr
his horse, but yet made resistaunce tyll suc
time as Erigius plucked the speare out of
wound, and thrust it agayne into his mout
who to ryddе himselfe out of payne, furth
red his enemies stroke. Then the Aria
seeing their Capitayne slayne, whome th
had followed rather of necessitie than of the
owne free willes, called to remembraun
Alexanders benefites, and yeelded then
selues vnto Erigius. Alexander reioyc
much of the good successe of this matte
doubting greatly the Lacedemonians: but
bare out their rebellion stoutly, saying th
they durst neuer disclose their meaning, unti
they knewe hee was come to the confines

Indi

India. Alexander hauing remooued his campe, and going forwardes in the purſuit of Beſſus, Eurigius mette him, preſenting the ſpoyle of his enemie, as a memorie of his victorie. Thereupon hee committed the rule of Bactria to Artabaſus, where with a garriſon he left his carriage, and with a power that was light to iourney, entered into the deſertes of the Suſitans, conueying his armie by night.

In the want of water (that hath beene declared before) deſperation mooued them to thirſt before they had deſire to drinke. For by the ſpace of foure hundred furlonges, they founde no water at all. The vapour of the Sunne being in the Sommer ſeaſon, did ſo burne the ſande, that when it began to ware hote, it ſtarched all thinges as it had beene with a continuall fire. And then the light ſomewhat obſcured by a miſt that roſe out of the earth by the immoderate heat, cauſed the plains to haue appearance of a maine ſea. Their iourney in the night ſeemed tollerable, becauſe their bodies were ſomewhat refreſhed with the dewe and the colde of the morning. But when the day came, and the heat roſe, then the drought drying vp all the naturall humors: both their mouthes and their bowels were inflamed for heate. Then their hearts fay-

led, and their bodies fainted, being in case that they could neither stande still, nor passe forwards. A fewe that were taught by such as knew the countrey, had gotten water, which refreshed them somewhat: but as the heate increased, so their desire grewe againe to drinke. Then was there no remedy but to giue amongst the souldiers all the wine and oyle that remained in store. For drinke was so sweete vnto them, that it tooke away the feare of any thyrst to come. But such as had gulled in greedely the water that they gote, became so heauy, that they were neither able to beare their armour, nor go forwards: so that they seemed then most happye that had gotten no water at all: for such as had taken of it inordinatly, were enforced by vomit to put vp the same againe. As Alexander care full in this calamitie stoode with his friends that were perswading of him to haue respect to himselfe, for that he onely, and the greatnes of his heart should bee relieke vnto this aduersitie: There came two souldiors, which going before with such as had taken vp the campe, had found water, & were carying of it in bottels vnto their fellowes, which were sore afflicted for want of drinke behinde in the armie. When they sawe the king, one of them opened his bottle, and filling a cup that hee had

had, presented water to the king: who receiuing it at his hande, demaunded to whome they carryed that water: they sayd to theyr sonnes. Then he restored to him the cup againe full as it was giuen him, and said: I will not drinke alone: for so little cannot be deuided amongst vs all. Make you hast therfore to carrie to your sonnes that you haue gotten with your trauaile. But he traueled so long, that before night he came to the riuer of Oxus: The more part of the army, not able to follow for feeblenes, were left far behind: to the intent therfore that such as followed after, might know where the camp was become, he caused a fire to be made in the top of an hill, and gaue order, that when the vaward had refreshed themselues with meate and drinke, they should fill their bottles with water, and go backe with the same to relieue their felowes. The breath of such as drunke intemperately closed vp, and they dyed immediatly: the number of whom was greater then euer Alexander loste in anye battaile. But he would neither put of harneis, refresh himselfe with meate or drinke, nor ease his body: but stoode in the waye where his armie passed, not departing till the last man was come into the campe. Hee watched all that night, and passed it ouer in great trou-

trouble of minde. And the daye that ensuer brought no release of his care. For there were neither boates to passe the Riuer withall, nor he could make any bridge, seeing there was no woode growing nye at hande. But at length he found out a deuise, whereunto onelye necessitie did driue him. They tooke beastes skins and stuffed them full of strawe, whereupon they layde themselues, and so swome ouer the water. Such as first recouered the further side, stood in order of battaile tyll the rest were passed: by which meanes in sixe dayes he conueyed ouer his whole army. Hauing thus passed ouer the riuer of Oxus, his purpose was to passe forwards in the pursuite of Bessus, till he vnderstood such things as had chaunced amongst the Sustans. There was one Spitamenes, whom Bessus chiefely honoured of all his friends. But there be no benefits that can stay a man giuen to perfide and falshoode: which in him was the more tollerable, because he iudged no mischiefe to great for him that hath slaine his prince. For the reuenge of Darius was a faire colour to his offence: but it is to bee thought, that his present fortune was more enuyed, then his doing by paste hated. When it was knowne that Alexander had passed the Riuer of Oxus, Spitamenes did associat

with

with him in counsell of his enterprise Dataphernes, & Catenes, whom Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter more readily than he would desire them, and taking to them viii. young men that were strong of personage, vsed this kinde of policie. Spitamenes repaired to Bessus, and getting him alone, enformed him that hee had founde out howe Dataphernes, and Catenes had conspired to deliuer him aliue into Alexanders hands, whereas (he said) hee had preuented them, whiles they were about their purpose, hauing taken them both, and put them fast in prison. Bessus then thinking himselfe much bounde to him for so great a good turne, gaue him many thankes. And for the desire he had to be reuenged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bring them to his presence. Hee caused their handes to bee bounde behinde their backes, and to bee brought by such as were priuie to their confederacie. When they came in Bessus presence, hee beheld them with a fell countenance, and rose vp to haue striken at them. But they left then their counterfaiting, and straightwayes enclosing Bessus about, bounde him strugling in vaine, and pulled the Diademe from hys head, tearing his garment from his backe: which sometime belonged to his Prince,

whom he had slaine. When he sawe himselfe in this case, hee confessed that the gods had rightfully reuenged his treason, and perceyued by plague they sent him, that both they fauoured Darius, and were friends to Alexander, whose enemyes euermore preferred his victory. It is vncertaine whether the multitude would haue assisted Bessus or no: but that Spitamenes had deuised the thing to bee doone by Alexanders appointment, wherby he put them in feare being yet doubtfull of minde, and set Bessus vpon an hoste, whervpon he brought him vnto Alexander. He in the meane season had chosen out fyue hundred, such as by reason of their age were not meet for the warrs, & gaue to euery horseman two talents, and to euery footman, three thousand denyers. That done he dispatched them home, and gaue thankes vnto the rest, because they promised to continue with him till hee had brought his warres to an ende. Bessus was presented vnto him at a lyttle Towne, whereof the inhabiters bee called Branchidans, which in time past by the commaundements of Xerxes when he came out of Greece, were brought from Miletum and placed there, because that in his fauour they had violated a Temple called Didyma. They had not all together forgotten their coun-

countrey customs, but had mixed their tong, which by little and little were fallen from their own language, and yet had not attained the country speach. They receiued the King with great ioy, yeelding themselues & their Cittie vnto his will. Whereupon he called to him ỹ *Milesians* that serued him in his wars, (who bare an auncient hatred against the generation of the *Bradchidans*) and put in their hands to determine whether they would saue them for the countrys sake, or els destroy them for the iniurie they had done in times past. But when the *Milesians* could not agree in opinion, he saide hee would order the matter himself. The next day when the *Branchidans* came to meet him, he returned them al againe into the Cittie, and commanded the footmen to inclose the Citie about, and entred with such as he had appointed for the purpose, and by a token giuen, put all to the sword, & spoyled the citie as a receptacle of traytors They being without armour and vnprouided, were slaine in euery place. For neither the affinitie of their tongue, nor any prayer or intercession could mittigate their enemies crueltie, which after the destruction of the town did cast down the walles to to the grounds, so that no memorie thereof should remaine. That done they did not onely cut downe the woodes, wherein

they

they vsed their sacrifice: but also plucked vp their trees by the rootes, þ the ground might be left barren as a desert. If the same thinges had bene done against the verie offendors, the reuenge might haue bene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessors vppon the posteritie, it might be thought a cruel act, seeing there were not any of them that had euer seene *Miletum*, or doone to Xerxes anie kind of pleasure. As Alexander remoued frõ thence towards the riuer of *Tanais*, Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoiled of al his garments: whom Spitamenes led in a chaine put about his necke: a pleasant sight to behold, as well to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. Whẽ Spitamenes was come with him into Alexanders presence, he said:

I haue brought here vnto you, the killer of his owne maister, after the same maner that he him selfe gaue the example: Wherin I haue both reuenged Darius that was my king, and you also that now haue got the soueranity. Let Darius open his eyes, and rise from death, to behold this sight, that was vnworthie of such an end, and worthie to receiue such a comfort as this is.

After that Alexander had giuen Spitamenes thanks, he turned himselfe vnto Bessus, and said:

What beastly woodnes moued thee to take thine owne

owne Prince prisoner, and afterwards to kil him, hauing so well deserued of thee : of which thy doings thou hast receiued sufficient rewarde, by vsurping the counterfaite name of a king.

He had no hart tomake answer or excuse his offence, sauing that he said : he tooke vpon him to be king, because he might deliuer him possession of the cuntry, which thing if he had omitted, some other he saide would take it in hand. Then Alexander called for Oxatres Darius brother, whom hee had placed about his person, and committed Bessus to his keeping, to the intent he should cut off his eares and his nose, and hang him vppon a crosse, causing his owne men to shoote him through with arrowes, and so preserue his bodie that birdes should not touch him. Oxatres promised to performe all the rest, sauing the keeping away of the birdes, which for the desire he had to set forth Catenes cunning, affirmed that none could so well keepe them away as hee, who did shoote so assuredly, that hee could strike the birdes flying in the ayre. And though it was a cunning not so much to bee marueiled at in a Nation so experte in shooting : yet was it greatly wondered at of such as did beholde him, and was great honour vnto the doer. Hee gaue rewardes to all such as were the bringers of Bessus, but hee deferred

ferred his punishment, because hee minded to put him to death in the same place where hee slew Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a forraging without order, were ouerthrowne by the enemies that came running downe from the next mountaines. They tooke mo than they did kill, and driuing their prisoners before them, retired againe vnto the mountaines. There were of them to the number of twenty thousand, which accustomed to liue by theft, vsing slinges and bowes in their fight, whom whilest Alexander did besiege, and in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremost, he was striken with an arrow in the middest of his leg, wher the head sticked stil. The Macedons that were sorrowfull and amazed for their kings hurt, caried him into his tent, of whose departure out of the fielde his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all thinges from the mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadors vnto Alexander, whome he admitted to his presence, & vnfolding his wound (wherby he thought to dissemble the greatnes therof) shewed his leg vnto them. When they were commaunded to sit downe, they said, that hearing of his hurt, they were as sorrowfull for it as his own subiects, which should well be knowne: for if they could find out the person, that did the deed, hee

should

should be deliuered into his hands: they could not (they saide) iudge them but Sacrileges, that would fight with Gods, of whose vertue they supposed him to bee, and therefore were determined to yeeld themselues. Thereupon he gaue vnto them assurance, and receiuing againe his men that were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subiects. That doone, he remoued his campe, and was caried in a foot litter: for the bearing whereof the horsemen & footmen contended together. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the king vsed to fight among them. And the footmen alledged, that in as much as they vsed to carie the hurt souldiors, they thought no reason their office should be taken from them, chiefly when the king should be carried. Alexander therefore in so great contention of both parts, thought it a difficult matter to giue giue sentence, because the iudgement should be greeuous to them that should be put from the office, and there ordered that they should carry him by course. From thence the fourth day he came vnto a Citie called *Maracanda*, the walles whereof were threescore and ten furlongs about, but the Castle was without any wall: he set a garrison in the Citie, and then burned and destroyed the country thereabouts. Embassadors came vnto him thither from

from the *Scythes* called *Auians*, which had beene free since the time that Cirus was among them: but yet they shewed themselues then readie to bee at his commaundement. They were knowne to be the most righteous people of all the barbarous nations, as men that neuer vsed to make war, but when they were prouoked: whose moderation & temperance in vsing of their libertie, made the inferiors equall vnto the superiors. Alexander receiued them gently, & sent Penidas a friend of his to those *Scithes* that inhabited within Europe, to forbidde them to passe the riuer of *Tanais* without his appointment: Who had also a secret commission to view the scituation of the cuntry, and to visit those Scithians that inhabited about *Bosphorus*. Hee willed him besides to choose out a place vppon the brinke of *Tanais*, whereas hee might builde a Citie, to remaine as a fortresse, for the subduing of those people that he intended to visite But this deuise was delayed by the rebellion of the Sogdians, who had also drawn þ Bactrians to their part. There were of them vii. thousand horsemen, whose authoritie the rest followed: for the aduantage of whom Alexander caused Spitamenes and Catenes (the betraiers of Bessus) to bee sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the country agayne

to

to his obedience, and to ſubdue ſuch as had made this ſtirre. But they which were iudged meete to ſtay the rebellion, and were ſent for that intent, were the chiefe authors of all the reuolt. For they cauſed it to be noiſed abroad, that Alexander had ſent for the Bactrian horſmen of purpoſe to kil them al: which commiſſion (they ſaide) being appointed to them, they would not execute, becauſe they thought it ouer foul an act to cõmit againſt their cuntrymen. And for that cauſe could as ill beare then Alexanders crueltie, as in times paſt Beſſus treaſon. By this meanes when feare of death was put into their heads, they were eaſily ſtirred to arms, which before were ſufficiently inclined of their owne minds. When Alexander was aduertiſed of their doinges, he willed Craterus to beſiege *Ciropolis*. And he himſelf wan an other Citie of that countrey by an aſſault that he gaue to it on all parts at once, and by a ſigne giuen, cauſed all ẏ childrẽ to bee put to death, making the reſt a pray for the ſouldiers. This done the Cittie was raced to the ground, to thintent that others by their enſample might be kept in obedience. There was a valiaunt people called *Memacenans*, who were determined to abide the ſiege, not onely for their honeſties ſake, but alſo for that they thought it moſt for theyr ſuretie.

For

For the mittigating of whose wilfulnes, the king sent vnto them fiftie horsemen to declare his clemencie towardes such as submitted themselues, and howe inexorable he was vnto such as he wan by force. Their answere was, that they neither doubted of the kinges promise, nor of his power: but after their answer giuen, they lodged them without the walles, whereas entertaining them with great cheare vntill it was the deepe of the night, set vppon them, and slew them all. Alexander was no lesse mooued with this matter, than the cause required, but made an assault vnto the Citie on all parts at once, which he found furnished in such wise, that hee could not take it at the first attempt. Wherefore he appointed Meleager and Perdicas vnto the siege thereof, which then were besieging of *Ciropolis*, minding to spare the same, because it was builded by Cirus. For he had not so great admiration of any king that had raigned in those parts, as of him and Semiramis: whose magnanimity of mind, and fame of her great acts seemed to him to exceede all the rest: but the obstinate wilfulnes of the inhabitantes stirred vp his wrath. For when hee had taken the Citie, hee willed the Macedons to spoyle it, which had great cause to be mooued against them, and so returned againe to Meleager

and

and Perdicas. There was not one citie that did more valiauntly abide the siege, than the same did: for both the hardiest of the souldiors were slaine, and the king was brought in great danger, being striken in the neck with a stone, so that his sight fayled him: and was felled to the earth, so that he lost his sense. The armie lamented, thinking he had beene dead: but he was inuincible against those thinges, which put other men most in feare. For without tarrying he dressed his wound, returning to the fight, and after anger had stirred vp the eagernes he had of nature, hee renued the assault againe more fiercely then before. At length a great peece of the wall was ouerthrowne by a mine, at which hee brake in, and put the whole Citie to sacke and to ruine. Hee sent from thence Menedemus with three thousand footemen, and eight hundred horsemen, to the citie of *Maracanda*, which Spitamenes had newly taken, & put out from thẽce the garrison of the Macedons: Yet the Citizens were not of this opinion: but when they saw they could not withstand him, it was of necessitie for them to agree to his wil. Alexander in the meane season came to the ryuer of *Tanais*, where hee inclosed about with a wal so much ground as his camp did contain, extending in compasse threescore furlonges,

and named the same citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedition, that within seuenteene dayes after the wals were vp, the houses also were builded. And ꝑ whole was performed in a very small season, through the contention amongst the souldiors, who should performe his worke first, when the same was diuided into portions among them. Their prisoners (whose ransomes Alexander paide to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this Citie. The descent of whom after so long time are not yet worne out: such fauour hath beene shewed to them, in the memorie of Alexander. The king of *Scythia*, whose Empire was then beyond the riuer of *Tanais*, iudging that the fortifying vppon the riuers side, should bee as a yoke to his necke, sent his brother Carcasis with a great power of horsemen to defeat the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedons frō the waters side. That riuer diuideth the Bactrians frō the Scithians of Europe, & is the limite which parteth Asia and Europe asunder. But the countryes that the Scithes inhabite, doe stretch as farre as Thracia, and lie betwixt the North and the East, ioyning with Sarmacia, and possessing parte of it. The country also that lyeth beyond the Riuer of Ister is inhabited by them, their vttermost bonnds

stretch-

ſtretching to *Bactria*, & to the further bounds of Aſia Northwards, where as bee wonderfull great woods and wild deſerts. But ſuch of them as bounded neare vnto *Tanais* and *Bactria* lacked not much the ciuilitie of other Nations. This beeing the firſt time that Alexander had to doe with theſe people, when he ſaw that then he had to enter into a warre, for the which hee was not prouided, his enemies riding vp and downe in his ſight, and he diſeaſed of his wound, eſpecially not hauyng the vſe of his ſpeach, which fayled much by reaſon of his long abſtinance, and the payne in his necke: called his friendes to counſell, and declared vnto them that he was not troubled with any feare of his enemies, but with the iniquitie of the time, the Bactrians rebelling, and the Scithians prouoking him, when neyther hee was able to ſtand vppon the ground, ſtrong inough to ryde on horſebacke, or in caſe to giue aduiſe or exhortation to his menne. In conſideration therefore of the doubtfull daunger hee ſawe himſelfe wrapt in, hee accuſed the Gods, complaining that hee was then inforced to lye ſtill as a ſtocke, whoſe ſwiftneſſe before tyme none was able to eſcape. The matters grew ſo great, that his owne men beleeued hee had counterfeyted his ſickneſs for feare. And therefore he

which since the ouerthrow of Darius had left consultation with the deuiners and prophets, turned himselfe againe to the vanitie and superstition of man, willing Aristander (vnto whom hee was addicted in beleefe) that hee should trie out by sacrifice what his successe should bee. The customc of them which were called *Aruspices*, was to consider the intrails of the beasts without the king, and to make report of the signification. In the meane season whilest they were searching secretes that way, he willed Ephestion, Craterus, Erigius, and other his frends to draw neare about him, least by straining of his voice hee might breake out his wound againe, and saide thus vnto them:

The daunger I am in, hath caused the time to serue better for mine enemies, then for me: necessitye I see cheeflye in the warres to go before reason. For it is seldome geuen to men, to choose their own time. The Bactrians be reuolted, vpon whose shoulders yet we stand, purposing to trye, what courage wee bee of, by our behauiour towards the Scithians, If we leaue of with doubtful fortune, & meddle not with them, which of their owne mindes haue prouoked vs: Wee shall at our retourne be had in contempt of them whom we entend to visit. But if we shall passe the Riuer of Tanais, and by the destruction of the Scithians and shedding of their blood, shew our selues inuincible euery where. Who wil then doubt but that

that Europe will lye open, and geue obedience tovs being victorers? he is deceiued that doeth measure by any distaunce the boundes of glorye we intend to passe. There is but one Riuer that letteth vs nowe, for bringing of our power ouer Europe, which if we shall bring, what an estimation shall it be for vs, whiles we be subdueing of Asia, to set vp the monuments of our victories, as it were in a new worlde, ioyning so soone together with one victorie, the thing that nature seemeth to haue deuided, with so great distance. but if we shall staye neuer so little, and geue ground, the Scithians will then come after vs, and pursue vs in the taile. Be there no more but wee that haue passed Riuers? there be many inuentions yet remaining amongst our selues, whereby we haue gotten manye victories. But fortune of the warre doth teach policy to such as be ouercome: wee haue shewed a president of late to swimme ouer Riuers vppon bottels: which thing if the Scithians can not doe, the Bactreans shal teach them. It is but the power of one nation that now commeth against you: all the other yet stand in a stay to vnderstand of our doings. So that by eshewing bataile, we shall nourish warre, and be compelled to receiue those blowes, which ly in vs to geue to others. The reason of my aduise is manifest. But whether the Macedons will suffer me to vse my own disposition I doubt, because that since I receiued this wound, I haue not ridden on horseback, nor gone on foote. If you will followe mee my friendes, I am whole: I gaue them strength ynough to endure these things. And if the end of my life be at hand, wherein can I spend it better?

These wordes that he spake was vttered

with a broken and weake voice, so that they could scarsely bee heard of such as were next him. But when his meaning was perceyued, all that were present went about to fray him from so rash an enterprise. But Erigius wrok chiefly in the matter, which perceiuing that his authoritie could not preuayle against the kings obstinate mind, attempted to work him by religion, which hee iudged of greater force. For he declared that the Gods were against his determination, which had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the riuer. He said he had vnderstood that thing by Aristander, who tolde him at his comming into the pauilion, what hee had perceyued in the beasts intrailes. Alexander vpon his words was wonderfully troubled both with anger & shame, when he saw the secrets of the religion brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secret to himselfe: and therefore caused Erigius to go aside, & Aristander to be called in vnto him, whom he beheld in the face, and said:

I seem to thee rather a priuate man than a king: I commanded thee to make sacrifice, & thou hast declared the signification thereof to other, & not to me. For Erigius by the report knoweth the priuities pertaining to me: But sure I iudge that thorough his owne feare he deuised an interpretatiō of himself. Therefore let me heare of thine owne mouth

mouth what thou haſt found in the intrails, to the intent thou ſhalt not denie that thou haſt ſpoken.

Ariſtander thereupon was amaſed, and looked pale, not able to anſwere one word for feare. But at length the ſame feare that made him hold his peace, pricked him forwardes to ſpeake, leaſt the prolonging of the kinges expectation might prouoke him vnto further wrath, anſwered:

I ſaide (quod hee) there was in the enterpriſe great danger and difficultie: but yet that your attempt ſhould not bee in vaine. There is nothing that I haue perceiued by my ſcience troubleth me ſo much, as the loue I beare to you wardes: for I both conſider your infirmitie, and what a moment conſiſteth in your owne perſon, fearing you ſhould not be able to indure the thinges that fortune is diſpoſed to giue vnto you.

When Alexander heard him ſpeake after that manner, he willed to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whome fortune had graunted glorie in greater thinges, and thereupon diſmiſſed him: Afterwardes as the king was debating with ſuch as hee conſulted with before, by what meanes hee ſhould paſſe the riuer: Ariſtander came amongſt them, affirming that he had found the intrailes contrary to that hee did before, with as likely ſignes of good ſucceſſe as any that euer he ſawe, ſhewing them then as great cauſes to reioice, as he did before to feare. But immediately here-

vpon Alexander receiued newes that much appaired the continuall felicitie he was wont to haue in all his proceedings. Menedemus being sent (as it hath beene said before) to besiege Spitamenes, the author of the Bactrians rebellion: when he vnderstood of his enemies comming, both in auoiding to be inclosed within wals, and trusting besides to take some aduauntage of the Macedons, laide an ambushment to intrappe them. There was a wood through the which they should passe verie apt for the purpose, where he laid the Dahans, whose custome was to cary two armed men vppon one horse, from whence they vsed to leape downe by course. And by reason the swiftnes of the footmen was little inferior to the horsemen, they troubled greatly the order of the horsemens fight. Spitamenes gaue order to them, that when their enemies shoulde enter into the wood, they should enuiron them on all sides, which when they performed according to their appointment: Menedemus seeing himselfe inclosed on all parts, and not equall in number vnto his enemies, resisted a great while, crying out to the souldiors, that ther remained no hope to them, being intrapt after that manner, but by making slaughter vpon their enemies, to receiue the comfort of an honest death. Menedemus rode vppon a strong

strong horse, charging oft times vppon his enemies, whereby he brake their order, & made great slaughter, till such time as he being laid at on all parts, receiued many woundes, and fainted for want of bloud. Then hee exhorted Hispides that was one of his frends to leape vppon his horse and escape away, & with that word he sowned, and fell to the ground from his horse. Hispides might haue got away, but after he had lost his frend, determined there to die, taking no other care but how to spend his life with losse of his enemies. Wherefore hee put his spurs to the horse, and ran in amongst them, where he fought notably, and at length was slain. When the rest saw this ouerthrow and losse of their Capitaine, they recouered an hill, where Spitamenes did besiege them, thinking to subdue them for want of vitaile. There were slaine in the battaile two thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen: which misaduenture Alexander with great policie kept secrete, commaunding them that departed from the field, vppon paine of death not to publish this matter abroad. But when hee could not beare out any longer a countenance contrary to his heart, he went alone to his pauilion which hee had set of purpose vppon the Riuers side. There hee walked all night, deuising with him selfe what was best

to

best to doe. And diuers times he lifted vp his tent to behold the fires in his enemies camp, thereby to coniecture their number. When the day appeared, hee put on a corselet, and came foorth amongst the souldiors, being the first time they had seene him since hee receyued his hurt. They bare such a veneration vnto their King, that with his presence onely they put away the remembraunce of the feare which caused them before to shrinke, and reioiced so hartily, that when they saluted him, the teares distilled from their eyes, and earnestly required the fight which before they had refused. Hee tooke order there amongst them that the horsemen, & such as were of the square battaile of footmen should bee carryed ouer in boates, and that the lyghte armed should swimme vppon bottels. Neyther the matter required any more to bee spoken, nor the King could not say much more by reason of his infirmitie. For the souldiors went about the matter with such good will & chearfulnes of minde, that within three daies they had finished twelue thousand boats. When al thinges were prepared in readines for their passage, there came xx. Embassadors of the Scithians riding by the camp, which requyred that it might be declared to the king, that they had matter in cõmissiõ to declare to him.

When

When they were receiued into his pauilion, and commanded to sit downe, they fixed their look continually vpon the kings countenance whereby it was thought, that weighing the greatnesse of his courage by his personage that they saw present, it appeared vnto them but small in respect of the same they heard of him. The wits of the Scithians be not rude and without knowledge, as other barbarous people be. For it is said that many of them attaine to such learning as is possible for a nation being alwayes in exercise of the warres. Whose wordes spoken vnto Alexander bee left in memorie: which though they differre from the manner of vs that haue happened in more ciuill times, and framed our selues to a more humanitie: yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their speach is not allowed. And therefore I shall declare vncorruptly the sayings which the eldest of those Embassadors did speak after this manner.

If the Gods had giuen thee a bodie according to the vnsatiable desire of thy minde, the worlde should not be able to receiue thee, but shouldest touch the Orient with one hand, & the Occident with the other: which thing once obtained, thy care should bee to become equall to the Goddes. Thus thou dost couet the thing thou art not able to compasse. From Europe thou goest into Asia,

and

and from Asia passe into Europe. It must come to passe, that if thou ouercome all mankinde thou muste keepe warre with woodes and snowes, with riuers & wilde beastes. What? art thou ignorant that trees do grow till they be great, and then be plucked vp from the roote in a moment? Hee is a foole, that doth couet the frute, and considereth not theight of the tree whereon it groweth. Take heed least whiles thou doest labour to attaine to the top, thou fallest with the bowes which thou dost embrace. The Lyon hath been sometime the foode of small birdes, and the rust doth consume the yron. There is nothing so sure that is not in danger of his inferiour. What haue we to do with thee? Wee neuer touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the waste wooddes, to be ignorant what thou arte, & from whence thou commest? We can neither be subiect to any man, nor to desire to rule ouer any creature. And because ye shall not be ignorant of the state of our nation, we haue certaine giftes in proper vnto vs the yoake of Oxen, the Plough, the Speare, the Bowe and the bowle: which bee the thinges that we vse both with our frendes, and against our enemies. Wee do geue vnto freends, of the fruites gotten with our labor. With the Bowle we sacrifice Wine vnto the Goddes. With the bowe wee strike our enemies a farre of, and with the speare neere at hand. After that sort in times past, we ouercame the king of Scithia, and afterwards the king af Persie and Media, making the way oppen to vs into Egipt. But thou which dost glorye, that art come to be a persecuter of theeues, art a robber of all nations, that thou commest amongest. Thou haste taken Lidia, possessed Siria, enioyed Persia, and haste the Bactreans vnder thy power.

Thou

Thou doſt viſite the Indies, and now ſtreatcheſt forth thy rauonous hands vnto our cattell. Why doeſt thou couet that riches that cauſeſt thee to be poore? Thou arte the firſt of all men which with abundaunce haſt prepared thy ſelfe hunger and that with the more thou haſt, the more greedely thou doeſt couet the thinges thou haſte not. Doeſt thou not remember howe long thou haſte ſticked about Bactria. And whiles thou goeſt about to ſubdue them, howe the Sogdians beginne to rebell? Thus warre dooth growe vnto thee of thy victory. For be thou neuer ſo great and puiſſant, aboue any other, yet there be none that can endure to bee gouerned by ſtraungers. Paſſe now Tanais: thou ſhalt perceiue what bredth it beareth, and yet thou ſhalt neuer ouertake the Scithians, whoſe pouerty is ſwifter then thy armie, carrying the ſpoile of ſo many nations. For when thou ſhalt thinke vs to be farre of, thou ſhalt ſeeve within thy campe: with like ſwifnes, we follow, and flie away. I heare that our deſerts be ſcorned by the Greeke prouerbes, wee couet rather thoſe deſerts and places vnhabited then Cities and plentifull countreys. Therefore hold thou thy fortune faſt: for ſhe is ſlipper and cannot bee kept againſt her will. Follow thou the counſaile that is good, ſpecially whiles the time doth ſerue. Put a bridle to thy fel citie, and thou ſhalt gouerne it the better. Wee ſay that fortune is without feete, and that ſhee hath only handes & winges: but when ſhe putteth forth her hand, ſhe will not ſuffer her winges to be touched. If thou bee a God, then giue benefits vnto mortall men, and take not awaye the commodities they haue alreadye. If thou be a man conſider alwaye thine owne eſtate. It is foolish to remember thoſe

things

things which cauſe thee to forget thy ſelfe. Such as by warre thou makeſt thine enemies, by peace thou mayeſt make them thy very friendes. The moſt firme friendſhip is amongſt them that bee equall: and they ſeeme equall, which haue not yet made anie triall of their force. Take heede thou take them not for thy friends, whom thou diddeſt ſubdue and bring to ſubiection. Ther is no friendſhip betweene the Lorde and the ſlaue: and in peace the lawe of armes is obſerued. Thinke not that the Scythians doe confirme their friendſhip with anie oath: for they thinke they ſweare in keeping of their faith. The cuſtom of the Greeks is to iuſtifie their doinges by calling their Gods to witneſſe: But wee acknowledge religion to conſiſt in the faith it ſelfe. They that do not their due reuerence vnto men, deceyue the Goddes. Thinke not thoſe friendes to bee neceſſarie vnto thee, of whoſe good will thou ſhalt need to doubt. Thou mayeſt vſe vs as keepers both of Europe & Aſia, for wee ſhoulde ioyne with Bactria but that Tanais doth deuide vs: And beyond Tanais our dominion ſtretcheth ſo farre as Thracia, and the fame is, that Thracia confineth with Macedon. Conſider therefore whether it bee neceſſarie for thee or no, to haue vs as friendes or foes to both thine Empires.

**Theſe were the Scithians words, to whō the King made anſwere:**

That hee would both vſe his owne fortune, and their counſayle that aduiſed him well. Hee would followe his fortune (hee ſayde) becauſe hee had great confidence in it, and other mens counſaile, becauſe he would do nothing raſhly, nor vppon a ſodaine.

Ther-

Thereupon he dismissed the Embassadors, & imbarked his armie in the boats he had prepared. In the forepartes of the boats hee set such as had targets, willing them to kneele vpon their knees for their more safegard against ꝑ shot of arrowes. And they were placed behind them that had the charge of the Engins, who before and on both sides were inclosed with armed men. The rest that stoode beyonde the Engins, being armed themselues, defended with targets such as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boats that carried ouer the horsemen. The more part drew their horses after them by the reynes, swimming at the boates taile, and such as were carried vpon trusses filled with straw, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to be about his person, first lanched from the land, and directed his course towards the further side. The Scithians came against them with their horsemen in order of battaile, standing vppon the brinke of the further shore to let their landing: whose shew being a terrour to the Macedons, they had also another cause of feare in their passing ouer. For the boat maisters were not able to keepe their course against the force of the streame. And the souldiours swaying to and fro, for

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the doubte they had to fall in the water, troubled the marriners in doeing of their office. By reason whereof the Macedons could not haue scope to cast their darts with any force, taking more care howe to place themselues out of perill, then for to annoy their enemies. Their engins stoode them in great steede, which sildome did shoote in vaine against their enemies that stood thicke before them, proffering to resist their landing. When the Scithians saw them neere the shoare, they did shoot an infinite number of arrowes into the boates, so that there was not in manner any target that had not many heads sticking in it. At length the boates arriued at the land: then the target men did rise vpon their feete, and hauing more scope and sure footing, threw their dartes more certainlie and with greater force: whereby perceiuing their enimies to shrinke, and reine backe their horses, they then leaped cheerefully vnto the lande, one exhorting and encouraging another, and freely pursued them, whom they saw fall out of arraye. By that time Alexanders horsemen which had assembled themselues in troupes, brake vpon their enemies, and put them to great disorder. In the meane season the rest beeing defended by them that were fighting, landed and prepared themselues to

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the battaile. Nor Alexander letted not with stoutnes of courage to supplie the impotency of his body. His voice could not bee heard when he spake and exhorted his men (the scar of his wound not yet closed) but all menne might see him fighting. Wherefore euerie one vsed the office of a capitaine in giuing exhortation vnto his fellowes, and ranne vppon their enemies without respect of their owne liues. Then the Scythians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the crie of their enemies, but beeing all on horseback fled away vpon the spurres: whom the King pursued fourescore furlongs, notwithstanding that with great paine hee endured his infirmitie. When his hart fainted, he commanded his men that they should follow still in the chase so long as the day lasted: and not hauing strength to sustaine any further trauaile, returned into his campe to rest himself. The Macedons in their pursuite passed the bounds of Bacchus: in monument of whom there were great stones set vp of equall distance, and high trees whose stockes were couered ouer with Iuie. But no bounds could be a stay to the Macedons, being carryed forwards in their furie: for it was midnight before they returned againe to their camp: who hauing killed many, and taken a great num-

ber of prisoners, did driue before them a thousand eight hundred horses. There were slaine of the Macedons threescore horsemen: of the footmen to the point of a thousand one hundred were hurt. This enterprise with ỹ fame of the victorie falling in so good season, kepte the more part of Asia in obedience, which was of the point to haue rebelled. For they beleeued that the Scithians were inuincible: who beeing vanquished, they iudged no nations able to withstand the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therfore after this victorie, sent their embassadors vnto Alexander, offering themselues to come vnder his obedience. To the doing whereof they were not so greatly moued with feare of his force, as they were with report of his clemencie vsed towards the Scithians, after he had discomfited them. For he deliuered home al their prisoners without ransome, to witnes vnto the world that he made war with these fierce nations to shew his power & his vertue, & not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vppon thẽ. That was the cause that he so gently receiued the embassadors of the Sacans, causing Excipimus to accompany them: who being a beautiful yoong man in ỹ first flower of his youth, was in that respect in great fauor & familiarity with Alexander: in personage

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he was like Epheſtion, but inferior to him in pleaſantnes of ſpeach. After this Alexander giuing order to Craterus to followe him by ſmal iourneys with the greater part of his army, he himſelf came to the citie of *Maracanda*, frō whence Spitamenes that heard of his comming was fled into *Bactria*. The king therfore making great iourneys foure dayes continually, came into the place whereas vnder the conduct of Menedemus hee had loſt 2000. fotmen, & 300. horſmen. Whoſe bones he cauſed to be gathered togither, celebrating their funerals after their country maner. By that time Craterus with the Phalanx was come to the king: & to thintent he might puniſh with the ſword all ſuch as had rebelled: he diuided his power into diuers parts, cōmanding them to burne in euery place where they went, and to kil all the children. The country of the Sogdians for the more part is waſt, by reaſon of the great deſerts that ſtretch ouerthwart the country. The riuer called *Politimetum* paſſed in maner through the length of it, which runneth a ſpace violently in a narrow chanel, and then is receiued into a hole of the earth, from whence it paſſeth vnderneath the ground: whoſe courſe is manifeſt by the noyſe of the water that may bee heard. And yet on al the ground vnder the which ſo great

a riuer doth runne, there doth not appeare any moysture put foorth. Of the captiues that were taken amongst the Sogdians, there were thirtie of the most noble brought to Alexander: which vnderstanding by an interpretor, that by the kinges commaundement they should be put to execuc̃, began as men in mirth to sing and daunce, and by a certaine lasciuious motion of their bodies expressed a great ioyfulnes of the mind. Alexander marueling that they tooke their death with such stoutnes and magnanimitie of heart, called them vnto him, enquiring why they shewed so great a gladnes, when they had death before their face. They answered that if they had beene put to death by any, sauing by such a one as he was, they should haue taken their death sorrowfully. But now seing they should be restored vnto their predecessors by a King that was a conquerour of all nations, they reioiced in their honest death, as the thing that all men should wish and desire. The king then marueling at their magnimitie. I enquire of you (quod he) if you can be content to liue, and become friends to him, by whose benefite you shall receiue life. They said, that as they neuer were his enemies (but as they were prouoked by occasion of the warres) euen so if he would make an experiment of them rather by a benefit,

nefit than an iniury, they would labour not to be ouercome in good will, nor in dooing the thing that pertained to their dutie. He asked what pledge they would lay of their promise, they said, their liues they had receiued should bee their pledge ready to bee yeelded againe, when it were required. Therein they brake no promise: for such of them as were returned home into their country, kept the people in good obedience: and foure of them that were appointed to be of the kings gard, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towards their prince. When hee had ordered all things amongst the Sogdians, he left Peucolaus there with three thousand mē of war, & remoued into Bactria, frō whence he commanded Bessus to bee caried to *Echatan*, there to suffer death for the killing of Darius. About the same time Ptolomeus and Menidas brought three thousand footmen, & a thousand horsemen of mercinary souldiors: and one Aleander came to him out of Licia with three thousand footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen. Asclepeodorus had leuyed ꝑ like number out of Siria. Antipater sent eight thousand Greekes, amongst whō there were fiue hundred horsemen. When hee had thus increased his armie with the supplie of his new power, he went about in euery place

to quiet those stirs that had beene raysed by by the rebellion. And hauing slaine them that were the authors and beginners thereof, the fourth day came to the riuer of *Oxus*, which being a water vnwholesome to be drunk (because it is euer troubled and full of mud) the Macedons fell to digging of welles: & when by digging deepe they could find no water, a spring sodainly appeared in the kinges tent, which because it was not found at the first, they fayned it to come by miracle. Therwith the king was pleased, & contented men should beleeue that the same was sent by the gift of God. When he had passed ỹ riuers of *Oebus* and *Oxus*, they came vnto a city called *Marginia*, neare vnto the which hee chose out places for the building of six townes: whereof he planted two towards the South, and foure towards the East: euery one distant a small pace from an other, to the intent that their mutuall assistance in time of neede should not be farre to seeke. They were all scituate vpon high hils, as bridels to keepe vnder those wilde Nations. But now they haue forgotten their originall, and be subiect vnto those they were woont to rule. The King hauing subdued all the rest, one Rocke only remayned, which Arimazes a Sogdian had taken with thirtie thousand armed men, & furnished

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the same of victuals for two yeres. The same rocke was thirtie furlongs in height, and an hundred & fiftie about, being in al parts steep and broken, hauing one straight path onely to passe vp vnto it. In the mid way to the top it had a caue which was narrow and dark in the entry: but by litle and litle it waxed wider, & had more large lodgings within for a great multitude, and was besides so full of springs, that when they met togither, they ran downe the rocke like a great riuer. Alexander beholding the strength of this place, and the difficulty to win it, determined to depart from thence. But there entred sodenly into his hart a desire to weary nature, and worke against her power. Yet before that he would attempt the fortune of any siege, hee sent Cophes the son of Artabazus to perswade them to giue it ouer. Arimazes vpon trust of the strength of the place, answered in al things arrogantly, but specially in that he asked if Alexander could flie. Which wordes reported to the king, did put him in such a furie, that straight waies he called for such as hee vsed to consult withall, declaring the pride and presumption of Arimazes, and after what manner he had scorned him. But shortly (he saide) he would deuise such a pollicie, that hee would make him thinke the Macedons had winges. Hee

required them therefore that out of the whole army they would choose out and bring to him three hundred of the most light yoong menne which had beene accustomed to driue beastes amongst the rockes and straight paths of the mountaines: wherupon they brought such to the king, as both for lightnes of body, & hardines of hart were most meete for such a purpose: Vnto whom he said:

My fellowes that that bee of mine owne age, with you haue I wonne Cities that were counted inexpugnable, and haue passed the tops of mountaines couered continually with snow. With you I haue gone through the straights of Silicia, and haue without wearines sustained the violence of the cold: whereby I haue experience of you, and you of me. The rocke which you see hath but one entrie, which our enemies doe obserue, the reste they neglect. They keepe no watch but towardes our campe. If you diligently search, you shall find some way to bring you to the toppe. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may be attained to by the industrie of man. In putting thinges in proose, whereof other haue dispaired, wee haue gotten Asia into our possession: Deuise you the meanes to get vp into the toppe, which when you haue taken, you shal giue a token to me by setting vp of some white cloth. You shall see me then com forwardes with my power, and turne the enemies from you towards me. Hee shall haue ten talents for a reward that doth recouer the top first, & he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shall be obserued with ten of the first. I am assured you regard not so much my liberalitie,

litic, as my fauour.

When they had heard the king speake after that maner, they imagined the thing won, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes & iron hookes which they might fasten to the rocks, and so clime vp. The king brought them about the rocke, whereas it seemed least steepe and most plaine to mount vpon, and in the second watch willed them to passe forwards with good speed. They being furnished with two dayes victuals, & armed onely with swords and speares, at first went forwards without any great difficultie. But when they came to the steepnes of the rocke, some tooke hold o the broken crags to lift vp themselues, and some fastening their hookes on the rockes, clame vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest and stay diuers times, and so consumed the day in trauaile & feare. When they had passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rocke seeming to grow more & more. When they fayled eyther of their hold, or of their footing, it was a miserable thing to see how they fell downe headlong, showing to the other by their misfortune, an ensample what was likely to come of them. Notwithstanding at length through all these difficulties they got vp vnto the top, where they all

wea-

wearied with the trauaile of their continuall labour, and some with the hurts & maimes they had receiued, slept there all that night, amongs the wilde and roughe rockes, vnmindefull of the perill they were in. When it was daye they wakened out of their deepe sleep, and beholding the valleys vnderneath them, were ignorant in what parte of the rocke so great a multitude of their enemyes should lye. But at length when they perceiued by the smoake in what place they were, they vppon the pointes of two speares set vp the signe that was appointed them, and found than in their comming vp they had lost of theyr number two and thirty. The king being carefull not so much for the desire hee had to winne the rocke, as for to saue those whom hee had sent to so manifest a danger, stood all day beholding the top of the mountaine. And when darkenes of the night tooke away the prospect of the eyes, he departed to refresh his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceiued the white cloth set vp in the top of the rock: but the varyetie of the ayre, and the sonne beginning to appeare, and yet hydden, caused him to doubte a while whether his sight had fayled him or not. But when it was ful & open day, it appeared manifestly, & all doubt was remoued. Then

he

he called Cophes, by whom he had attempted their minds before, willing him once againe to exhort thē to be better aduised. And if so bee that in trust of their strength, they would not submit themselues, that then he should shew to them the men that had taken the rocke ouer their heads. When Cophes came thether, he begā to perswade Armazes to giue vp his strength, thereby to win the kings fauour, and not enforce Alexander to lay in the siege of a rocke, hauing so manye weightie affaires in hand: but hee found him more obstinate and proud then he did before, and willed Cophes to depart and moue him no more in the matter. Then he tooke Arimazes by the hād, & required him to go with him out of the caue. When they were come whereas they might looke about, he shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the crag, & scorning then his pride, asked of him whether Alexanders souldiers had gotten wings or no. By that time ꝑ trumpets were blown in the Macedons camp, & they might heare the alarme that was made in the army: which matter as many vain & trifling things are wont in the wars to grow to great effect: so ꝑ was ꝑ cause why they yeelded thēselues. for fear so troubled thē, ꝑ they could not consider ꝑ smal number ꝑ were ouer their heads,

but

but called Cophes againe in great hast, who was departed away, and sent with him vnto Alexander thirtie of the chiefe men, authorized to yeeld vp the rocke, with composition for to depart in safegard. But Alexander notwithstanding that he doubted least his enemies discouering the fewnes of his men, might put them to distresse: yet trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and offended with the pride of Arimazes: would agree to no condition, but that they should yeeld simply. Arimazes thereupon dispairing more of his estate, than he had cause, descended down to the campe with the chiefest of the Nation that were of kinne to him. All the which Alexander caused to be scourged with rods, and be crucified at the foot of the rock. The multitude that yeelded, with the money that there was taken, were giuen in gift to the inhabiters of the new Cities. And the rule of the said rocke was committed vnto Artabazus, with the charge of the country therabout.

The

# The eight booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of *Alexander the great King of Macedon.*



Lexander hauing won this rocke with greater fame thã glory, because his enemies remayned in no place certaine, it was necessary for him to separate his power, and so diuided his armie into three partes. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, and tooke the third part vnto himselfe. His enemies were not all of one opinion: for some of them seeing their defence could not auaile, yealded themselues before the fight, to whom he gaue the Cities and the lands of those that continued stil his enemies. But the outlawes of Bactria with eight hundred horsemen wasted the villages of *Massagets*. For the reqeste whereof Artinas gouernor of that cuntry, went against them with three hundred horse-

horsemen, not knowing that his enemyes lay in waite for him: which laying their embushment in a wood ioyning to a great plaine, had appointed a certaine to driue cattell, thereby to draw their enemies with the greedines of the pray within danger of the embushment. When Attinas men sawe the driuers of the cattell, they pursued them without order: so that when they were passed the wood where thembushment laye, their enemies brake out vpon them (casting no such perils) and slewe them euery one. The fame of this ouerthrow came immediatly to Craterus, which drewe thether with the horsmen. But the Massagetes being fled before his comming, he slew a thousand of the Dahans that tooke theyr parte, whereby the rebellion of the whole countrey ceased. Thus Alexander hauing subdued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda, whether Berdes (whom hee had sente to the Scithians inhabiting about Bosphorus) came to him with embassadours of that countrey. Phrataphernes also that had the cheefe rule of the Massagetes and Dahans (which nations were ioyned by affinitye togethers) sent certayne messengers to Alexander, offering to be at his commandement. The Scithiã embassadors made request that Alexander would mary their kings daugh-

ter

ter, and if the affinitie pleased him, that hee would suffer the Princes of the Macedons to enter in marriage likewise with the noble mens daughters of their countrey, promising that the king should come in person to visite him. He heard gently both the Embassades, and still continued in that place, till Ephestion and Artabazus came vnto him, and then ioyning his power againe together, came into the contrey that is called Bazaria. There is nothing more esteemed in that nation, then to haue great heards of wilde beasts enclosed in Parkes, which be verye pleasant and full of springs. Those Parkes be enclosed with Walles, and towers buylded within them, to be lodges for the hunters. There was one parke in that Countrey that had remained vnhunted during the time of foure mens ages. Whereinto Alexander entred with his whole armie, chasing the wilde beasts in euery quarter. Amongst the rest there was a Lyon of a rare bignesse that came running towards Alex. Which thing when Lisimachus (that afterwards was king, standing by chance thē next to Alex.) perceiued, he stepped before him, to receiue the Lyon with his hunting speare. But Alex. pulde him back, & wylled him to auoyde, saying that he was able to kyll a Lyon so well as Lisimachus.

This

This Lisimachus on a time hunting in Siria, killed onely by himselfe alone an huge Lyon. But yet he was torne to the bones vnder his left shoulder, and put in great danger of his life. Which being the matter that Alexander meant, he performed with ꝑ worde no lesse then he promised: for he did not onely receiue the Lion, but killed him with one stroke. Thereupon the fable did rise, how Alexander should haue cast Lisimachus to a Lyon. But though Alexanders chance was good herein: yet the Macedons knewe that by the custome of his countrey hee should not haue hunted on foote without the chiefest of his nobilitie and friends about him. He killed within that parke foure thousand wild beasts and there did banquet his armie, returning afterwards to *Maracanda*. Artabalus excusing himselfe there by his age that hee was vnapt for the rule of that country, Alexander committed the same to Clitus, being the man that defended him with his target when he was fighting bare headed at the Riuer of *Granicke*, and there cutte off with his swoorde Rhosaceris hand, that was in a readinesse to strike the King. He was an olde souldiour of Philip his father, and notable by many feats of warre that hee had doone. Hellanice his sister was Alexanders nurse, whome he lo-

ued

ued no lesse than his own mother. For these causes he committed the strongest part of his Empire to his fidelitie. The king that purposed to set forward his iourney the next day, made the same night a solempne banquet: wherein beeing ouer great an aduaunter of himselfe) when he was chafed with drinking: began to set forth the actes that he had done, in such sort that his words offended the eares of such as knew them to be true. The auncient men kept silence, till such time as hee began to deface the doings of Philip his father, aduaunting the notable victory at *Cheroneſe* to be his deed: the glorie wherof he said was taken from him by the malice and enuy of his father. For he alledged how in the mutinie which rose betweene the Macedons and the Grecke souldiers, when Philip lay hurt of a wound which hee receiued at a fray, thought himself sure no otherwise than to counterfait to bee dead: when he defended his body with his buckler, & slew them with his owne hand that ranne vppon his Father to haue killed him. Which act (hee sayde) his Father would neuer gladly confesse, nor neuer could abyde to acknowledge his safegard to come by his sonne. He also declared, how after the iourney he made by himselfe into *Illiria*, in writing vnto his Father, hee ascribed the vic-

rie vnto himselfe, which ouerthrewe his enemies, and put them to flighte when Philip was away. He saide that in his opinion it deserued but small commendation to make a iourney into *Samothracia*, when Asia ought to haue beene spoyled & burnt. Nor he thoght no man worthie praise indeed, but such as doe so great actes, as may exceede all mens credite. The yong men that were present were glad to heare these words and such other like: but they were vngratefull to the auncientes: especially for Philip his cause, vnder whome they had long serued. Then Clitus which in like case was not verie sober, turned to suche as sate beneath him, rehearsing verses of Euripides, whereof the king might rather heare the sound than the wordes. The effecte of them was, that the Greeks did euil, which in the monumentes of their victories, did subscribe onely the names of their Kinges, whiche vsurped the glorie vnto themselues that other menne did wynne by the shedding of their bloud. Alexander therefore which iudged his wordes to haue beene worse than they were, inquyred of suche as sate nerte him, what Clytus sayde. But when they kepte silence: Clytus with a lowder voyce rehearsed in order Philips doolngs, and the warres hee made in Greece, preferring them

before

before any actes done since that time: whereupon there did rise a contention between the yoong menne and the olde. But the King inforcing a patience in himselfe, when hee heard Clitus deface his prayse, conceyued a woonderfull wrath in his mind. Yet it seemed that he would haue bridled his affection, if Clytus would haue made an end of his presumptuous talke. But when he would not cease, he gaue occasion to Alexander to be further mooued. Clytus then did proceede so farre forth, that hee durst defende Parmenio his case, and preferred the victorie that Philip wanne of the Athenians before the destruction of *Thebes*. And going further and further, not onely through drunkennes, but euen by a frowardnes of a contentious mind, at length saide:

If we must die through thee Clitus is the first: For they receiue greatest rewardes of thy victorie, that can most shamefully deface thy fathers memorie. The countrey of the Sogdians is geuen vnto mee, that hath so often rebelled: & now is not onely vnsubdued, but such a one as by no means can be brought to subiection. I am placed amongst those wild beastes that bee of such vncivill disposition. But I could passe ouer things pertayning vnto my selfe: if the souldiours of Philip were not despysed: forgetting that if the old Atharias had not turned againe the yoong men, when they gaue ouer the fight, wee had yet sticked about Alicarnazus. Howe is it then that

Asia is conquered with these yoong men: But I see it is true that your vncle said in Italy: he chanced vpon men, and you vpon women.

There was nothing that Clitus spake or did in his rashnes, that moued more the king, than the honorable mention made of Parmenio: yet for all that he kept in his griefe, and did no more but commanded him to auoyd out of the place, and spake no other words, sauing that he said: If thou talkest a little longer, I thinke thou wilt braid mee with the sauing of his life: whereof in very deede he would often times proudly aduaunce himselfe. But notwithstanding that the king had willed him to depart, yet tarried he still, and would not rise: And therefore such as sate next him, tooke him by the armes to lead him away, blaming, and giuing him exhortation, for his better vsage. When Clitus saw himself drawn forth against his will, Ire was added to his drunkennes, and declared then alowd how that he with his best defended the kings backe: but now when the good turne was past, the verie memorie of his benefit was hated: and therewith layde to his charge the death of Attalus, and finally mocked the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whome Alexander claymed to bee his Father, and said that he tolde him better trueth than his father did.

At

At those wordes the King was kyndled vnto such wrath, as he could scarcely haue borne beeing sober. But hauing then his senses ouercome with drinke, leaped sodainly from the table. His friendes were amazed, which throwing downe the cuppes for haste, rose to wayt the ende of the thing, they sawe him goe about in such a furie. He tooke a speare out of a Squires hande, and would haue striken Clitus, that was yet raging with the intemperance of his tongue: but he was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdicas, who tooke him in their armes, and stayed him for all his striuing: And Lisimachus and Leonatus tooke away the speare. Then he called to his guard for aide, crying out that he was taken by his next friends, as Darius was of late, and willed the trumpet to bee blowne, that the armed men might assemble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptholomeus fell downe vppon their knees, requiring him that hee woulde not perseuer in his wrath, which hee so sodainly had conceyued, but rather respite his displeasure, seeing ẏ he might the next day much better order the matter. But his wrath preuailed so much, that hys eares were shut vp, and he ranne in a furie amongst the watchmen, plucking a speare out of one of their handes, which once gotten,

he stood in the entry, through the which they must needes passe that supped with him. When all the rest were come foorth, Clytus came last without light. And because Alexander could not discerne him, he asked what he was: but that was done so terribly, that the crueltie of the act hee went about appeared in his voice. But Clitus, which seeing the King in a furie, had no respect how much he had offended him before, aunswered that hee was Clytus, which was comming from the kings banquet. With that worde hee strake him through the body, so that he fell downe starke dead, and was all sprinkled with his blood. Go now (quod he) to Philip, Parmenio, and to Attalus. Herein it may be seene that nature prouided craft in the disposition of man, which for the more parte can not consider so well thinges to come, as those that be past. For after that Alexanders ire was asswaged, and his drunkennes past, weighing aduisedly the foulnes of the act he had done, considered then that though Clitus had vsed ouer much libertie in his talke, that yet hee ought not to haue slaine so noble a man of warre: yea and the sauer of his own life, though he was ashamed to confesse it. He saw that he beeing a King, had vsed the detestable office of an executioner in reuenging with wicked slaugh-

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ter the libertie of wordes, which might haue beene imputed vnto wine. When hee beheld the bloud of him which a little before hee had bidden to his banquet runne ouer all the entry, and that the watchmen were so astonyed and amazed, that they stoode a far off, & durst not come neare: his solitarines caused his repentance to be the greater. Then hee plucked the spear out of the dead corps, & would haue thrust it through his owne body, if the watchmen had not come running, & with great striuing wrung the same out of his handes. That done they tooke him vp, and carried him into his lodging, whereas he fell downe flat vpon the ground, filling all the court full of the miserable noyse of his howling and lamentation. He tare his face with his nailes, and required such as stood about him, that they would not suffer him to liue in such a shame & dishonour. In these requests he consumed ỹ whole night, and caused a diligent search to be made whether it were the ire of the Goddes or no, that he had caused him to commit so hainous an acte. At length it was found that the yearly sacrifice due vnto Bacchus was not done in due time: And therefore it appeared manifestlye, that it shoulde bee the wrathe of the Gods, that had mooued him to commit murder vpon eating and drinking. But the grea-

test thing that increased his sorrow, was the amazement of his friends, when he saw them shrinke from him, and that none of them after that deede done, would gladly vse such familiar communication as they did before. Then hee perceiued that hee should liue as a wilde beast in a desert, both fearing others, and also afrayd himselfe. The next morning hee commaunded the body bloudy as it was, to be brought into his chamber, which when he sawe lying before him, fell in weeping, and sayde:

Shall I after this sort requite my Nurice, whose two sonnes slayne for my sake at Miletum, I haue nowe killed her brother (that was her onely ioy) at myne owne boord? What refuge shall that wretched woman haue? I was all the comforte that did remayne to her, and now she shall neuer bee glad to beholde mee. Shall I the wicked killer of my preseruers, retourne into my countrey, when I shall not bee able to present my hand vnto my Nurice without the remembraunce of her miserie?

When he could put no ende to these kind of bewailinges and complaintes, the body was taken away by the appointment of his frends. After hee had layen three dayes shutte vp in his chamber, sorrowing after this manner, the Squires and such as had the keeping of his person, seing him giuē obstinately to death brake into his lodging, and with great payne

brought

brought him (though he long withstood their prayers) at length to take some reeste and sustenance. And to the entent he should be the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons decreed that he was lawfully killed, and and would not suffer him to be buryed, but that the king commaunded it. Having consumed ten dayes at Maracanda, specially to confirme the shame hee had conceyued of Clytus death, sent Ephestion with parte of his armie into Bactria to prouide victualles against winter: and committed the same prouince vnto Amintas, which before hee had giuen to Clytus. From thence he went into a countrey called Xempa, that confineth with the Scithians: which being well inhabited and ful of villages, doth with the plentifulnes thereof, not only deteine the inhabiters to dwell there still, but also inuiteth strangers to come amongst them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that still rebelled: but after Alexanders comming was knowne, they were driuen foorth by the countrey men, and two M. and two hundred of their horsemen assembled together, which were accustomed to liue by theft and spoile in time of peace: whome not not onely the warre but also dispaire of forgiuenes, had made more cruel, and their wild dispo-

dispotions worse. They gaue an onset sodeinly vpō Amintas, that was Darius lieutenant. The battaile was long doubtfull betwixt them: but finally they lost vii. hundred of their number, wherof iii. C. were takē prisoners, and turned their backes to the victorours, not without a reuenge: for they slue of them iiii. score, besides iii. hundred and L. that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding after this second rebelliō, they obtained pardon: when Alexander had brought them to obedience, he came with his whole army into a countrey called Maura, the Lorde whereof was called Sisimithres, who had gotten two sonnes by his owne mother, it being lawfull there for the parents to vse theyr children. The same Sisimithres with two thousand armed men fortified and kept the streight at the entrey of the countrey where as it was most narow. The passage was defended both a riuer and with a rocke, through the which rocke the waye was made by force of hand. The light is receiued in at the entrie: but further inward there is none, but such as mē bring with them. Frō this rocke there goeth a vawt vnderneth the ground, that hath issue into the fields, which bee not knowne but to such as be of the same countrey. Though this streight was naturally strong, & defended besides

ſtones by a ſtrong power: that letted not Alexander to attempt it, but brought engines which they call *Arietes*, to beate downe ſuch fortification as was made with hande, and with ſlinges and ſhot of arrowes, did beate his enemies from the places of their defence. When he had driuen them away, hee paſſed through the fortifications he had wonne, and made approche to the rocke. But the ſtreame that grewe of the aſſembly of waters falling from the mountaine, was an impediment to him therein. It ſeemed a woonderfull worke to fill the chanell of the Riuer: yet he cauſed trees and ſtones to be brought to the place, & ſet the thing in hand. Whē his enemies that neuer had ſeene any ſuch worke before, ſawe the worke riſe ſodenly like a mountain, were put in a maruailous feare, which the king ſuppoſing they might haue beene brought to render it vp: ſent one Oxiartes of the ſame nation to perſwade Siſimithres to render ꝑ rocke. And in the meane ſeaſon to put them in more terror, he cauſed towers of wood to be brought forwards, & did ſhoot with engins ſo out of the ſame, that the enemies forſaking all other ſtrengths, retired into the top of the rock. Oxiartes finding Siſimithres in this feare, perſwaded him rather to proue Alexanders beneuolence then his force: & ſeeing all

all creatures ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, that he onely ſhould not be his let, going with his victorious armie into India, wherby he ſhould turne other mens plagues vpon his owne neck. Siſimithres would haue him contented to follow his aduiſe, but that ſhee which was both his mother and his wife, affirmed how ſhe would rather dye, then commit her ſelfe into any mans hand: and therefore being aſhamed that the loue of libertye ſhould remaine more in a woman then in him being a man, altered his purpoſe, taking that way which was more honeſt then ſure, and diſmiſſed him that was the meane for peace, determining vtterly to abide the extremitie of the ſiege: Yet when he had weyed well his enemyes power and his owne togethers, began againe to repent him of his wiues counſaile, as of a deuiſe more raſhe then profitable, and made ſuite that Oxiartes would returne, profering then to commit himſelfe to the kings will, onely requiring of Oxiartes that hee would not vtter his wiues minde and opinion, for feare leaſt ſhe ſhould not obtaine her pardon. He ſent therefore Oxiartes before, and he came after with his wife, his children, and all his kinſfolke, without tarying for any aſſurance promiſed to him by Oxiartes. Alexander hearing of their comming,

comming, sent his horsemen before to cause them to stay, and tarry for his comming. And when he was come to the place where they did abide, he offred sacrifice to Minerua and Victoria, restoring to Sisimithres his former rule and authoritie, putting him in hope of a greater countrey, if he would faithfullie continue his friendship, and tooke his two sonnes presented to him by the father, to serue his warres. Alexander left his footmen to subdue such as were yet vnyeelden, and went forwards with his horsemen into other parts. The waye was craggie and difficulte, which at the first they endured indifferently: but afterwards when their horsse hooues were torne a sunder, and they vtterly forwearied, many were not able to folow, but rid dispersed, and out of order: the weerinesse of their trauaile so much ouercame shame. The king notwithstanding, changed often horse, and pursued without ceasing his enemies that fled before him: By reason whereof all the noble young men that were woont to accompany him, were left behinde, sauing onely Philip Lisimachus brother, who then being in the flower of his youth, and of great likelihood to become an excellent man, followed on foote the king that did ride on horseback by the space of fiftie furlonges:

Lisi-

Lisimachus diuers times for all that proffered to him his horse. But in no wise hee would depart from the king, notwithstanding that hee had on hys Corselet and all his Armour. When the king passed through a woode where his enemyes laye in embushment, he fought notably and rescued the king fighting with his enemies. But after they were put to flighte and driuen out of the woods, the greatnes of his courage, which had sustayned him in the heate of the fight, fainted with his body, & being all on a sweat, leaned himselfe to a tree, which did not so stay him, but that he fell to the earth, and being taken vp againe by the kings handes, shronke downe from him and dyed. The king being sorrowfull for his death, receyued another tidings, no lesse to be lamented. For before hee came to hys Campe, hee was aduertised of the death of Erigius, one of hys notable Capitaines: whose funerals were both celebrated with great pompe and ceremonies of honour.

From thence hee determned to goe vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstood that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauour him, finished that iourney of hys, as shee did manye other. Spitamenes was enflamed with the ouermuch

loue of his wife, whom he carried with him in all his hazards and aduentures. But she that could not well indure flying, nor to chaunge places like an outlawe, became so wearie of trauaile, that by flattery and faire meanes she entised her husband to leaue his flying, and go about (seeing he saw no wayes to escape) to procure Alexanders fauour: of whose clemencie (she sayde) he had seene so great experience. And to moone him the more in the matter, shee brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making request, that at the least wayes he would take pitie vpon them, wherein she thought her prayer would the more effectuall, because Alexander was so near at hand. But Spitamenes iudging hir not to do this by way of counsaile, but of purpose to betray him, and that shee desired to submit her selfe to Alexander in confidence of her beauty, drew out his sword to haue striken her, if he had not beene letted by his brethren. When they would not suffer him otherwise to hurt her, he commaunded her to auoid his sight, threatning to kill her if she profered to come againe into his presence: And to mitigate his loue towards her, he spent ỹ night amongst his concubines. But his loue that was so deeply grounded, thereby ceased not, but rather kindled the more toward his wife.

When

Wherfore he reconciled himselfe againe vnto her, making his continuall request, that she would not counsaile nor moue him anye more in the matter, but be content with such chaunces as Fortune would sende him: for he esteemed death lyghter than to yeeld himselfe. She purged her selfe of her former perswasion, which appeared to her (she sayde) to haue ben good, & though it were after a womans manner, yet it proceeded of a faythfull meaning. Yet from thencefoorth shee was contented to do as it should please him. Spitamenes ouercome with her counterfait affection, made a greate feast, and after much eating and drinking, became drowsie, and was caryed into his chamber. When his wife perceiued him to bee in a deepe sleepe, she pulled out a swoorde, which she had kepte secretly for that purpose, and cut of his head, deliuering the same beeing sprinckled with blood vnto her seruant that was priuie to the fact, and with him only, as she was embrued with blood, came vnto the Macedons camp, willing it to be signified to Alexander that there was one come, that had to speake with him. Hee by and by gaue commaundement she should enter: but when he perceyued her defiled with blood) thinking that shee had come to lament some iniurye doone vnto her)

willed

willed her to declare what shee would haue. She desired that her seruant might come in, from vnderneath whose garment she tooke Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto Alexander. The paleneſſe of the face wanting bloud, had taken away the knowledge whose it was. But when the king perceiued it to be a mans heade, he departed forth of the tent, and by enquirie vnderstood the matter. The case brought him in great perplexitie, and was driuen by diuers imaginations into sundry opinions. He iudged ꝑ killing of such one (being a fugitiue & a rebell) to be a great benefit vnto him: which liuing might haue bin a great let and impediment to his proceedings. But on the other side, considering the horriblenes of the deede, that shee should kill him by treason, which loued her so entirely, and by whom shee had had children: the violence of the act ouercame the thanke of her benefit, and she was commaunded to depart the campe, least the ensample of such lycenciousnes, might corrupt the manners and ciuill disposition of the Greekes. When the Dahans vnderstood of Spitamenes death, they brought Dataphernes bound, that was partner with him in his conspiracy, & yelded themselues vnto Alexander. He being deliuered frō the greatest part of his present care

ned to reuenge the iniuries of them which had beene misused by the pride and couetousnesse of his deputies and officers. Therefore he committed Hircania with the Cardons & Tapirions to Prataphernes, to whome hee gaue in commission to sende Phradates his predecessour to him as a prisoner. Tamsonor was substituted ruler of Caria in the place of Arsamus. Arsaces was sent into Media, to thintent that Oxidates should remoue from thence. Babilon vpō the death of Mazeus was committed to Deditamenes. When he had ordeined these things, the third moneth he drew his armie out of the winter lodgings, to go to a country that was called Gabaza. The first daies iourney was quiet, & the next not very tempestuous: yet darker thē had bin accustomed, but not without som signification of their calamities that were comming. The third day the element was full of lightning: and when the lightning ceased, it was very darke. The beholding thereof amased the souldiours, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, & the lightning fell in straunge similitudes, so that the armye stood astonied, and durst neither go forwards, nor remaine still in a place. Then there came sodainly a shower of haile driuing like a streame: which at the

first

first they defended by couerture of their harneis: But shortly after their hands were so colde and wet, that they could not hold theyr weapons, nor yet deuise which way to turne themselues, finding alwaies where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Euery man therefore brake his aray, wandring about the woods: and many that were wery'd by feare rather then by trauaile, lay downe vpon the grounds, notwithstanding that the force of the colde had conuerted the shower into a frost. The trees, against which they leaned, were a great refuge and helpe to many. And yet they were not ignorant when they rested, that they chose thē-selues a place of death: for when they left to moue their bodies, the naturall heate left them: But ease was so pleasaunt to such as were wearied, that they refused not to dye in resting of themselues. Their affliction was not only vehement for the time, but also continued very long: to the encrease wherof, the light, which is a naturall delectation vnto men, thorough the darkenes of the shower, and the shadow of the wood, was so taken away, that it appeared as it had beene nyght. The king onelye was able to ouercome this mischiefe, which ceased not to goe about the army, drawing the souldiors together when

they were disperkled, lifting them vp that lay on the ground: and to encourage them, hee shewed them the smoke that rose a far off frō the cotages, whether hee exhorted them to drawe for succour. There was not any thing more effectuall to their safeguard, then that whiles they were ashamed to leaue their Prince, whom they saw endure this mischief, they chafed themselues with their labour and trauaile. But necessitie (which in aduerse fortune is of more force thē any reason) found out a remedy for this cold. They fell to cutting downe the wood, making euery where heapes & stacks therof, and set them on fire. Then a man would haue iudged ỳ the whole wood had bin on a flame, for there was scarsly space left betwixt the fiers for men to stande. Then their nummed members began to bee moued with the heat, & their spirits which were oppressed by force of the cold, began to haue their free recourse: Some recouered ỳ cotages, which necessitie caused them to seek out in the furthermost part of the wood, & the rest recouered ỳ camp, which was planted in a moist ground. But by that time the shower was ceased, the tempest had consumed a thousand Tuldiours, verlets, & slaues. It is sayd that diuers were found frosen to death, leaning against trees, and yet seemed as

though

though they had bin liuing and speaking together. It chaunced that a common souldiour of the Macedons, which had much paine to go and carry his armour, came at the last into the campe where the king was: who notwithstanding that he was chafing of his owne body against the fire, yet he did rise out of his chayre, and pulling of the nummed souldiours armour, that was almost past his remembrance, set him down therin. He a great while knew not where he sat, or who had receiued him, But at length when his naturall heate came to him, and perceiued it to be his kings seate, & the king to bee there present, was afraid, and starte vp againe. But Alexander beheld him in the face, and said.

Perceiuest thou not now my souldior, with how much better condition thou liuest, then the Persians do vnder their king? For it is death for them to sit in the kings seate, and the same hath beene the sauegard of thy life.

The next day he called his friends, and the capitaines of the army together, promising to restore to them whatsoeuer they had lost: wherin he performed his promise: For Sisimithres bringing vnto him many beasts of burden with ii. M. Camels, & great number of sheepe and oxen, he distributes all amongst the souldiors: wherein he both restored to the

theyr losse, & also deliuered them from theyr hunger. The king gaue great thankes vnto Sisimithres, and commanding his souldiors to carrye fyre dayes victuals ready dressed, went to the Sacans, where hee destroyed all their Countrey, & of the booty there taken, gaue xxx. thousand sheepe in gift to Sisimithres. From thence he came vnto a countrey belonging to a noble prince called Cohortanus, which submitted himselfe vnto the king And he againe restored his countrey to him, exacting nothing of his, but that of his three sonnes he should send two with him to serue his wars. But Cohortanus offred to him al three, & made a feast vnto Alexander, with all such sumptuousnes as belonged to ỹ maner of the countrey. Therin all the pleasures being shewed that could be deuised, thyrtye Virgins of the noble mens children were brought in before Alexander, amongs whō there was Cohortanus daughter, called Roxane, which in beauty and excellencie of personage, and in comlinesse of apparell (rare amongst those nations) excelled all the rest. And notwithstanding that they were all elect, with whome she was accompanied: yet she drew all mens eies towards her, and specially the kings, that could not well now gouerne his affections in such prosperitie of

fortune.

fortune, being the thing that the frailnes of man sildome can auoide. Thus he which beheld the wife of Darius and her two daughters (to whom Roxan was nothing comparable) with no other intent then hee might haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young virgin, being but of a base stock, if she should be compared to kings bloud, that hee affirmed it to be a thing necessarie for the establishment of the empire, for the Persians and Macedons to marry togethers: by which onely meanes shame might be taken from the vanquished, & pride from the victorours. Hee also for his purpose aleged a president how Achilles (of whō he was descended) ioyned himselfe with a captiue. And least his dooings should bee thought iniurie, he would couple himselfe by the way of mariage. The father ioyfull of these news that he looked not for, gladly cōfirmed the kings words: who in the heate of his desire, caused bread to be brought forth according to the custome of his countrey, the same being the most religious ceremony of mariage among the Macedons: which bread was cut a sunder with a sword, & each of thē made of it sacrifice. It is to be thought, that such as established the customes of that nation, coueted by a moderate & a scarce dyet, to

shew to them that wer the gatherers of great riches, with how small a thing they ought to content themselues. Thus he that was both king of Asia and Europe, ioined himselfe in marriage with a maid brought in at a maske, to beget vpon a captiue, that should raigne ouer the victorious Macedons. His friendes were ashamed that he should chuse vpō mink a father in law of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clitus, all the liberty and frankines of speach beeing taken away, they seemed to agree with their countenances, as with the most apt instrument to declare the client of the mind. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towards India purposing to visit the Ocean sea. And because he would leaue nothing behind his backe that might be impediment to his expedition: hee tooke order for 30000 young men to be leuyed out of all the prouinces, & to be brought to him armed, minding to vse them both as pledges and as souldiours. Hee sent Craterus to pursue Haustanes and Catenes: of whome the one was taken, and the other slayne. Polipercon also subdued the country that was called *Bubacen*. And so hauing set all things in order, he set his whole imagination vppon the warre of Inde, which was counted to be a verie rich countrey, and to abound both

with

with gold, pearles and pretious stones, things more appertaining to voluptuousnes, than to magnificence: and it was said that the souldiors there had their targets made of Iuory, & of gold. And therfore least he which thought himselfe to excell the rest, should bee passed in any point, caused his soldiors to garnish their targets with plates of siluer: the horsemen to make their bridles to be beautified with golde and siluer. There were a hundred and twentie thousand armed men that followed Alexander in the war. When all thinges were in readines, for the purpose he long before conceiued in his euill disposed minde, thought it time to compasse howe hee might vsurpe the name and honour of a God, and so willed himselfe not onely to be called, but also beleeued to be the sonne of *Iupiter*, as though his power had beene as well to restraine mennes thoughts as their tongues. His intent was that the Macedons should fall groueling vpon the ground, and worshippe him after the like maner the Persians did their kings. And to such his desire, there wanted not of pernitious flattery, the perpetuall poyson of princes, whose estate hath had more often ouerthrowes by flattery, than by any force of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this: for none of them suffered gladly theyr

countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of the Greeks, which with their naughty conditions, corrupted the profession of honest sciences. There was one Hagis of *Argiue*, as euill a Poet as was since Cherillus daies, and another called Cleo a Sicilian, giuen to flattery both of nature, and by the custome of his cuntry. They with other the dregde and refuse of their countries (whome Alexander reputed more than any of hys captaines and kinsmen) would haue made it appeare to the world, that heauen had lain open for Alexander, and sticked not openly to pronounce, that both Hercules & Bacchus, Castor & Pollux should all giue place to his newe Godhead. For the bringing of those things to passe, the king commaunded vppon a solempne day a feast to bee prepared wyth great pompe, inuiting thereunto all the great Lords and Gentlemen both of the Macedons and the Greeks: with whom when he had sitten & eaten a while, he departed from thence out of the feast. Then Cleo, as was before determined, set forth his talk with gret praise and wonder of the kings vertues, rehearsing his exceeding benefites towardes them all: which to requite, he saide there was but one way, and that was if they would acknowlege him a God, whome they knewe to bee one.

For

For it is a small thing (quod hee) to recompence such great benefits towards you, with the cost of a little frankinsence. He shewed the Persians custome to bee both religious and wise, in worshipping their Kinges as Gods: thinking their defence and safegarde to consist in the Maiestie of their Prince. He sayde, that Hercules and Bacchus were deified, when they had once ouercome the enuie of such as liued in their time. And men that com after doe easily beleeue such thinges as haue beene confirmed by their predecessors. If any of you (quod hee) will sticke at this matter, ye shall see me the first that at the kings comming in shall fall downe grouelyng vpon the earth, and worshippe him. Which president others ought to followe, and specially men of most wysedome, that should alwayes bee ensample to others in dooing their duties towardes their Prince. This tale tended directly against Calistenes, whose grauitie and prompt liberty of speaking was hatefull vnto the king: for hee thought him the man which onely had staied the Macedons, ỳ else would readily haue done to him that honour. Herevpon euerie mans eyes was turned towards Calistenes, which after silence made, saide in this wise.

If the King were present (Cleo) to heare these thy

thy wordes, it ſhould not be mindfull now to aunſwere thee: for hee himſelfe would make requeſt that he might not thus ſwerue out of this kind into the cuſtome of ſtraungers, nor hee would not ſuffer that thou ſhouldeſt deface and bring in the obloquie and enuie of men, with ſuch thy pernitious flattery, his noble acts broght to paſſe with ſuch felicitie and good fortune. But becauſe he is away, I for him will thus aunſwere thee. There is no fruit ſoone ripe that will continue long. Thus I meane by the diuine honors, which, whiles thou goeſt about to giue vnto the King, thou takeſt his honour from him. There is a time required that men ſhould beleue him to be a God: for that gift hath alwayes bene giuen to great men, when they are once deade, by ſuch as came after them: I wiſh vnto the king immortalitie after his death, and that his life may be long, and his eſtate continuall. But ſanctifiyng is a thing that ſometime doth followe a man, but it neuer doth accompany him. Thou didſt rehearſe examples of the deifiing of Hercules and Bacchus. Thinkeſt thou that they were made Gods vpon drink, and by the decree of one dinner? The nature of Alexanders manhood muſt be remoued from our mortal eies, before the fame can bring him into heauen. Are not they goodly Gods (Cleo) that thou and I can make? Would the King (troweſt thou) be content to receiue of vs the authoritie of his Godhead? I haue great deſire to proue thy power if thou can make a God, firſt make a king. It is much more eaſie to giue a worldly kingdome, than the poſſeſſion of heauen. Thinkeſt thou (Cleo) that the immortall Gods will heare thee without diſdaine, or ſuffer theſe thy wicked deuiſes to take effecte? they would we ſhould holde vs content with the

cuſtomes

customes of our forefathers: and for my parte I am not ashamed of my country: nor I require not to learne after what manner I should honour my prince. For in my opinion, wee acknowledge him sufficiently to be King and victorour, of whom we receiue lawes to liue vnder.

Calistenes was fauourably heard of all men, as the person whom they accounted the recouerer of their vniuersall libertie. Hee did not only in this tale paint out such flatterers but also liuely expressed the opinion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auncient men, to whom the exchaunge of their olde vsages were greeuous. The king was nothing ignorant of the words that had passed betwixt them: for he stood behind a partition of the hall, and heard all the matter. He sent words therfore to Hagis and Cleo, that at his comming in, they should moue the strangers onely to fall downe and worshippe him after their country customе. And after a while the king, as though he had bene about some matters of importance, returned againe into the feast: and then the Persians fell downe and worshipped him after such sort as was deuysed, but Polipercon that sat aboue the King at the boord, asked one in scorne that touched the ground with his chinne, wherefore hee kissed no harder: with which words he mooued Alexander to ire, whereof hee was euer vn-

vnpatient: so that he said vnto Polipercon:

Is it thou that disdainest to honour mee? Shall I be mocked of thee alone?

He aunswered that it was not seemely a King should be scorned, nor yet a subiect bee despised: With which words the king plucked him from the table, and threw him down: to whom he said, falling groueling vppon the earth.

Loe hast thou not doone thy selfe, that before thou didst scorne in another man?

And thereuppon he commaunded him to ward, and so brake vp the feast. Polipercon being thus punished, was afterwardes pardoned, but Calistenes whose contempte and stubbornes the king had long grudged at, grounded his displeasure then more deeply: vpon whome there chaunced shortly after an apt occasion to be reuenged. It was a custom (as it hath beene said before) amongst the noble men of Macedon to put their sons, when they were past their childhoode in seruice to the King, as pages to doe necessarie busines about his person. Their vsage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber doore where the King lay. The concubines were brought in by them, by an other way then where the guard watched. They likewise receyued the horses of the grooms of the stable, & brought them

them to the king, when he leaped on. They alwaies were about the King both in hunting and in battaile, and were brought vp in the studie of liberall sciences. The chiefest honor was giuen vnto them, because they might sit and eate with the King: none had power to correct them with stripes, but onely the King himselfe. This company was like a masse or store, from whence all the Captaines and gouernors of the Macedons did come. From thence came their latter Kinges, whose lynage the power of the Romanes long after did extinct. Hermolaus one of that number, because he had striken a boye (whom the King had thought to haue striken himselfe) was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged with roddes, which rebuke he tooke greuously, and complayned to Sostratus his friende, that was one of the same company: Which seeing the body torne, whereunto hee had so great affection, and peraduenture offended also with the King before, for some other cause, stirred so Hermolaus (which was prouoked sufficiently already) that ech gaue faith to other to finde a way to destroy the King: Which they executed, not with any childish proceeding, but wisly agreed to bring Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, & Philotas into the fellowship of their conspiracie.

And

And afterwards they ioyned vnto them more, Anticles, Elaptenius, and Phimanes. But the meane how to performe this purpose seemed very difficult, because it behoued al them to watch together. And it was the vsage that according to their courses, some watched one night, and some another: For if any shoulde happen amongst them, that were not priuy to the matter, the same night to bee a let to the whole enterprise. Therefore about changing the course of their watch, & in other preparation for the execution of their purpose, there passed two and thirtie daies. At length the night came when the whole number of the conspirators should watch together, who reioiced greatlye amongst themselues, that each had kept faith to other: whereof so many dayes silence had giuen good proofe: during which time neither feare, nor hope had altered any of their mindes, so great was the displeasure they had conceiued against the King. or els the fidelitie they bare each to other. They were standing at the doore, where the King did eate, to the intent that at his rising from the banquet, they might bring hym to his chamber. But Alexanders fortune, & the pleasauntnes of such as were in his company, mooued him to drinke largely, whereby and by reason of other pastimes and deuises,

the

the time was so prolonged, that the conspirators stood in a maruellous perplexitie. For one while they were glad, because they trusted to find him drunke, when they should goe about their enterprise, and an other while they were in great agony, least he should sit til day light, for then the custome was to releeue the watch, and other to succeede in their places, & since their course should not bee come agayne till the seuenth night after, they could not bee assured that euerie one of them would keepe the thing secret all that time. But when the day began to appeare, and Alexander was risen from the banquet: they were so glad to execute their malice, that they became ioyfull to receiue the king. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the court, which being extraught of her mind, and seeming by some inspiration to shew things to come, met Alexander, and would in no wise suffer him passe, but perswaded him by all meanes shee could deuise, to return and sit down againe. He said to her in sport that the Gods gaue him good aduise: and therupon called backe againe his familiars, and sate drinking till it was two houres after light: By which time an other company had releeued the watch, & wer standing before the kings chamber doore: yet for all that the conspirators remained stil after þ

time of their watch expired: So vehement is the hope which mens mindes conceiue, when they be drowned in the desire of great things The King spake more gently to them than he was accustomed, and willed them to go to their rest, for so much as they had watched all the night before: and gaue vnto euery one of them in reward fiftie sestercies with commendation of their diligence, that they continued their watch longer then their time. Being thus deceiued of the great hope they wer in, they departed to their lodgings, in expectation of the night when their course shoulde come againe. But Ephimanes, which eyther by the gentlenesse the king shewed him amongst the rest, or els that hee thought the prouidence of God had withstood their purpose, sodainly changed his mind, and opened the matter they had gon about to his brother Eurilochus, that was not priuy to the matter before. The punishment of Philotas was so fresh in euery mans memory, that Eurilocus laid straight waies hands vppon his brother, & brought him into the court. He called to the watch, and shewed them that he broght news pertaining to the kinges safeguard, whych thing wel appeared, aswell by their comming at such a time, as also by their sadnes which was a testimonie of theyr troubled mindes.

The

The watchmen called vp Ptholomeus and Leonatus, that lay within the kinges chamber, which straight way brought them in to the king, and wakened him, that by reason of his much drinking lay in a deade sleepe. It was long or he awoke, but by little and little hee came to himselfe, and asked what the matter was. Then said Eurilochus, thanked bee the Gods, that haue not vterly determined the ruine of our family. For though my brother purposed an heynous acte, yet is he come to repentance, by him the matter is brought to light. This same very night treason was conspired against you, the authors therof be such as you would scarcely thinke. And thereupon Ephimanes declared all things in order, with the names of the conspirators. It is certaine that Calistenes was not named as one priuy to that treason: but it was confessed that hee gladly gaue eare to others talke, when they blamed and spake euill of the kinges proceedings. Some doe adde thereunto, that when Hermolaus did complain to Calistenes how the king had beaten him, hee bad him remember how he was a man. But whether he spake it to take the thing in patience, or els to sturre him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the King was fully awaked, and called to his memorie the perill he was in, gaue

Eurilochus fiftie talents, with the forfaite of a rich mans goods called Tiridates, and forgaue his brother before his pardō was required. He cōmanded the principals of this treason to be kept bound, & among them Calisthenes: who being taken & brought into the court, the king slept al the day, & the night ensuing, he was so heauy with drinking and watching. The next day he called a great councel, wher at the fathers & kinsfolks of the conspirators wer prēsēt, not very well assured of their own safegard, because that by the law of the Macedons all ought to die that were ary thing a kin to traitors. All the conspirators excepte Calisthenes, by the kinges commaundement were brought forth, immediately confessing the whole treason they had deuised. Then euery man present reuiled them, and the King required what he had done to them, why they should conspire his death. When all the other stood still and held their peace, Hermolaus answered thus.

Ye demaund this thing of vs as though ye knew not the matter. We went about to kil you, because you began to raigne ouer vs, as if we were slaues and not free borne.

As he was speaking those words, his father Persepolis called him traytour & murderer of his parents, stopping his mouth with his

his hand, because he should speak no further. Then the King plucked his father backe, and willed Hermolaus to speake such thing as he had learned of his maister Calistenes. Then Hermolaus proceeded.

I will vse your benefit, and declare those things which I haue learned to the great mischiefe of vs all. How small is the number of the Macedons remaining, that haue escaped your cruelties? Attalus, Philotas, Parmenio, Lincestes, Alexander, & Clitus are now dead: but to our enemies behoose they be aliue. They stood in the fight, and defended thee with swords, receiuing wounds for your glory and victorie, which now be very wel rewarded: The one besprinkled your table with his bloud, and the other could not be suffered to dye a simple death. Thus the Captaines of your people bee tormented and put to death: a pleasaunt spectacle to the Persians, of whom they were victourers. Parmenio, by whom ye slew your enemie Attalus, was put vnto death without iudgement. Thus vse ye the handes of vs wretches as instruments one to kill another, and such as euen nowe were your tormentours, straight wayes you commaund to be tormented of others.

At those wordes the multitude began to shout against Hermolaus: & his father drew his sworde to haue slaine him, if hee had not beene letted by the King, which commanded Hermolaus to speake, requiring the reste to heare him paciently, which (he saide) inforced the cause of his owne punishment. At length

with great labour they helde their peace, and then Hermolaus began againe:

Howe liberall is hee to ſuffer rude children to ſpeake? when the voice of Caliſtenes is ſhut vp in priſon, becauſe he alone is able to tell his tale? & why? becauſe hee feareth the free ſpeach of an innocent, and becauſe hee cannot endure to behold his face: & yet I will iuſtifie he is not priuy to this matter. But other there be here that purpoſed with mee a noble enterpriſe, of whom there is not any that can accuſe Caliſtenes of conſent, & yet our ſo pacient & righteous a king hath determined here his death. Theſe bee the rewardes of the Macedons, whoſe bloud is miſuſed as vile, & of no valour. He hath 30000. mules carying ſpoile and treaſure: and yet the poore ſouldiors carrie nothing with them but vnrewarded wounds and skars: All which things we did eaſily ſuffer before he did betray vs to the barbarous, & after a newe trade of victourers made vs ſlaues. Hee alloweth the apparell and diſcipline of the Perſians, and deſpiſeth the manners of his owne country: And therefore we determined to kill him, not King of Macedon, but King of Perſie: and as a fugitiue, perſecuted him by the lawe of armes. Hee would haue the Macedons kneele to him and worſhippe him as a God. Hee refuſed Philip for his father, & if any God had beene before Iupiter, he would haue refuſed him likewiſe. Doe you marueyle if free men cannot beare this his pride? What can wee hope for at his hands, ſeeing we muſt either die as innocents, or els (that is worſe than death) liue and remaine in bondage as ſlaues. Hee is greatly in my debt, if by this he could amend: for hee may learne of me the thing that free hearts can-

eannot endure. Spare them whose age shall bee sufficiently tormented with the losse of their children: but vpon vs cause execution to bee done, to the intent we may obtaine by our owne death, the libertie we sought for by his.

**When Hermolaus had spoken these words, the king then answered after this maner:**

How false these things be which hee hath learned of his instructour, my patience doth declare. For notwithstãding he before confessed this treson, yet my minde was yee should heare what hee could say: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to this theefe to speake, that he would vse the same rage and fury in his talke, which before moued him to haue killed me, whom he ought to haue loued as his father. Of late when that in hunting he vsed a great presumption, I commanded him to be chastised after the custome of our country vsed by the kinges of Macedon: Which chastisement we must grant needfull to be done, like as the pupils be accustomed of their tutors, the wiues of their husbandes, & seruants of their masters. This was all the cruelty I vsed towardes him, which he would haue reuenged with murder & treason. But how gentle I am to al persons, that suffer me to vse mine owne disposition, since you your selfe do know, it were superfluous for me to rehearse. I cannot marueyle at al, though punishment of traytours be displeasant to Hermolaus, since he himselfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth Parmenio & Philotas, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned Lynceftes Alexander, which was accused by two witnesses, that he twise conspired treason against me: and agayne conuicted, yet deferred I his punishment two

yeares

yeres, til you your ſelues required he might haue his deſeruing. Touching Attalus, ye remember very well how he wrought treaſon againſt me before I was king: and for Clitus, I would he had not moued me to ire, whoſe raſh tongue ſpeaking the rebuke and ſhame both of me and you, I ſuffered longer than hee would haue done mee, ſpeakyng the like. The clemencie of the kinges and princes conſiſteth not only in their owne diſpoſitions, but in ſuch as be vnder their ſubiection. For the rigour of ſuch as be rulers, is mitigated with humilitie. But when mens m.nds be void of reuerence, and high and lowe be confounded all alike, then force is neceſſary to repulſe violence. But why do I marueyle, that hee layde crueltie to my charge, that durſt obiect towards me couetouſnes? I will not call you to witneſſe one by one, leaſt I ſhould braid you with liberalitie, by making declaration what I haue beſtowed vpon you. Behold the whol multitude, which a little while agoe had nothing elſe but their bare armour: doe they not lye in ſiluer beds? be not their tables charged with plate? and poſſeſſe they not whole flocks of ſlaues. They are not able to ſuſtain the ſpoils of their enemies. But it is ſaide, the Perſians be honoured of mee, whom we haue conquered. Truly they be ſo; and yet what greater proofe can there bee of my moderation, then that I do not raigne proudly ouer ſuch as I haue ſubdued. I came into Aſia, not vtterly to ſubuert the nations, nor make the one halfe of the worlde deſert, but to giue the conquered cauſe not to repine at our victory. This is the occaſion they gladly fight for you, & for your kingdom ſpend their bloud: which if they wer proudly vſed, wold ſtraight rebell againſt you. The poſſeſſion is not durable which is kept by violence, but

thankes

thanks of gentlenes receiued, endureth euerlastingly. If we purpose to enioy Asia, & not to make a progresse through it, wee must make them partakers of our clemencie: and then their fidelity shall make our Empire stable and perpetual. And truely we haue now more then we can well wish or desire. Couetousnesse is an vnsaciable thing, specially when men desire to fill the vessell that runneth ouer. But ye will say that I mixe & bring their customes amongst ours. It is so, and whye because I see in diuersnations right many things which we need not be ashamed to follow. And so great an Empire as wee haue gotten cannot otherwise be aptly gouerned, except wee deliuer some things to them, and receiue likewise some things againe. One thing is to be laught at, that I should refuse Iupiter for my father, being so acknowledged by his oracle: as who saith, the answer of the gods were in my power. Hee profered the name of his sonne vnto me, which was not a thing vnmeete for the things wee purposed. I would wish that the Indians beleeued me to be a God: for the successe in warre standeth much by fame, and that which is falsly beleeued sometime worketh the effect of things true. Doe you note me geuen to excesse and prodigalitie, because I garnished your armour with gold and siluer? My purpose was to shewe to men accustomed with such things, nothing to bee more vile then such kinde of metall, & to declare that the Macedons inuincible in other things, could not be ouercom with gold it self. After this maner I shal blind the eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the first sight to wonder at things, be they neuer so base and vile. And in that we shew to make no estimation of it, we shall declare to all men that we are

not

not come for desire of gold nor siluer, but to subdue the whole world: from which glory thou traitour, thou wouldest haue bereaued me, & betraied the Macedons (I being slain) to the barbarous nacions. I am exhorted to spare your parents. Is it needfull I should make him priuie what I haue determined of them? noe I will not: and to that intent hee might dye with the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memory of them. It is long ago since I did fordoe the custome of putting the innocent parents & kinsfolke of traitors to death with the offenders. And I now professe to pardon and haue them all in the same estimation I had before. I know why thou wouldest haue thy maister Calestines brought forth, which onely esteemed thee being of his sort: because thou desirest to heare pronounced of his mouth, those raylingwordes, which euen nowe thou didst spit out against me. If he had been a Macedon borne, I had brought him into the place with thee: a worthie master for such a disciple, but being borne in another countrey, he is subiect to another lawe.

When he had spoken these words, he dimissed the councell, and commanded all such as were condemned, to be deliuered to the souldiours of their own bands: who because they would declare by some crueltie, the loue they bare towards their prince, slewe them all by torments. Calistenes also died vpõ the rack, innocent of the conspiracie against the kings person: but a man not pliable to ꝑ custome of the court, & abhorring from the disposition of flat-

flatterers. There was neuer thing ẏ brought the Greekes in greater indignation against Alexander, then that he not only killed, but caused to be tormented to death, & that without iudgement, a mã endued with godly maners & good sciences, by whom hee was perswaded to liue, when hee purposed to haue died for sorow ẏ he had slaine Clitus: which his cruelty, repentance followed that came to late. But least he might nourish idlenesse, apte for sowing of seditious rumours, hee marched toward India, alwaies more glorious in war then after his victory. The whole countrey of India lyeth chiefly towards the East, conteyning more in length, then it doth in breadth. The North parts be ful of mountaines and hylles: but all the rest of the land is playne, hauing many faire riuers, which running out of the mounte Caucasus, doe passe pleasauntly through the countrey. Indus is more cold then any other riuers, whose water is not vnlike the colour of the Sea. But of all the riuers in the Orient, Ganges is most excellent: which running from the South, passeth directly through many great mountaines, vntill that by the encountring of Rockes, his course is turned toward the East, where it is receiued into the red Sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe

his

his bankes, swallowing in trees, and much of the grounde. In many places the streame is kept in with Rocks, whereupon it beateth: But where the ground is more soft, there the Riuer becommeth more large, and maketh many Ilands. The greatnes of Ganges is much encreased by Aceſines, which meet before they enter into the sea: At their meeting the water is violently troubled, whyles the one resisteth the others entrey: neither of the seeme to giue place to other. Diardnes is a Riuer of the lesse fame, because it runneth in the vttermost boundes of India: but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles, as the Nile doth & also Delphines, with monsters vnknowne to other nations Crooked Erimanthus with his many turnings and reflexions is consumed by the inhabitours with watering theyr grounde, which is the cause that when it draweth neare the Sea, it becommeth verye little, and beareth no name. There be manye other Riuers that doe deuide the countrey: but none of them be so famous as these, because they do not run so farre. The Northwinde doth blast and harme most those parts that be next vnto the Sea: But those winds be so broken with the toppes of the mountaines, that they cannot endomage the inward parts of the countrey: wherefore fruits

be

be very plentifull there and perfite. But that region doth differ so much from the ordinary course of time in other parts of the worlde, that when other countreis bee burned most with the sunne, India is couered ouer with snowe. And when other places be frosen, the heat is there most intollerable: and yet there appeareth not anye naturall cause whye it should bee so. The colour of the Indian sea not differing much from the water of other seas, did take his name of king Erithrus, whereof the ignorant tooke opinion the water of those seas was red. The land is verye abounDant of Flaxe, whereof the more parte of their garments bee made. The twigs of the trees be so tender, that they receiue the print of letters like waxe. The byrds by teaching, counterfait mens voyces. There bee many beasts which are not bred amongst other nations. *Rhinocerotes* be there brought foorth, but not bred. The Elephants of that countrey be stronger then those that be made tame in Aphrike, & their highnes doe answer vnto their strength. The water of the riuers do carry downe golde, and run mildly without any great fall. The Sea doth cast vpon the shoare both pearles and precious stones: whereof proceeded the cause of their great riches, after their marchandise was once knowne

knowen to other nations, the purgings of the seas beeing then esteemed, as mans fansie would make the price. The dispositions of the men (as in all other places) be according to the situation of the countreis they dwel in. They make their garments of linnen cloth, which couer their bodies downe to their feet. They binde soles vnder their feet, and wrap roules of linnen about their heads. Such as be in any degree either of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones hanging at their eares, and couer al their armes with bracelets and ornaments of gold. They vse great curiosity in kemming of their heads, which they round very seldom. They shaue without any forme of grauitie, all partes of their face, sauing their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnes (which they call magnificence) vsed by them, dooth exceed the vices of all nations. When their will is to be seene abroade, their seruants carry about them perfuming pans of siluer, and fill all the wayes where they go with sweet sauors: they themselues be borne in litters of gold hanging full of pearles, and the garments they weare be of gold and purple enpaled together. The armed men folow their litter, and such as be of their guarde, among whome there bee birdes borne vppon boughes, which they had taught alwayes to

sing,

sing, when they be occupyed in earnest matters. In the kings palace there bee pillers of gold carued about with vines of gold, wherein the images of those Birdes they delighte most in, be artificially wrought. The court is open to all cõmers. When the kings do kẽb and dresse their heads, then they vse to giue aunswer to the Embassadours, and to doe iustice vnto their people. When their soles be taken of, their feet be annoynted with sweete odours. The greatest trauaile they take, is when they hunt wild beasts enclosed in parks which they strike whiles their Concubins be singing and dalying with them. The arrows that they shoote be of two cubits long, which doe not the effect of the force they be shotte withall, by reason of their weight which is an impediment to their swiftnesse, wherein the propertie of the arrow chiefely consisteth. In small iourneys they vse to ride on horseback: but when they haue to trauaile farther, they be carried vpon Elephants, whose huge bodyes be couered all ouer with gold. And because no vice should wante amongst their corrupt maners, great rowts of concubines doe followe them in golden Littors. The Queenes haue their bands seperate by themselues: which in all excesse of voluptuousnesse be nothing inferiour vnto the kings. It

belong-

belongeth to the women there to dresse meat and they also serue mē of wine, wherof there is great plentie among the Indians. When the king hath largely dronke, and is fallen in a sleepe: his Concubines vse to carry him into his chamber, calling vpō their Gods, with a song after their countrey manner. Who would thinke that amongst all these vices, there were any regard had of vertue? There is among them a rude and an vnciuill kinde of people, whome they call wise men, which counte it the most glorious thing to preuent their owne death: and they vse to burn themselues whiles they be aliue. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either cannot well stir for age, or haue not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till their naturall death approache: For there is no honour giuen to those bodies that dye for age. They think the fiers be defiled, if the bodies be not aliue that be burned in them. Such as liue in cities after a ciuill manner, attaine to the most apte knowledge of the stars mooning, and of the prophesing of things to come. For they cannot think that any man doth shorten his life, that looketh for death without feare. They esteeme those for gods, whome they beginne once to worship, and specially trees, the violating of the which, they forbid vnder paine

of

of death. They count after fiftie dayes to the moneth: & notwithstanding limit their years, as they doe in other places. They note not their times by such course of the Moone, as is cõmonly vsed: that is from the full moone, but frõ the first quarter, when she beginneth first horned: & by counting after the same maner, make them the shorter. There be manye other things reported of thẽ, with the which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this history. As Alexander entred into India, the Princes of the countrey came vnto him, submitting themselues & declaring that he was the third man that euer came among them, being begotẽ of Iupiter. They said ỹ Hercules & Bacchus was not known to them, but onely by fame, but they reioyced that they might beholde him presently with their eyes. Alexander receiued them with al gentlenes hee could deuise: & willed them to accompany him, because he would vse them as guides in his iourney. But when he sawe that the whole number came not, hee sent Ephestion & Perdicas with part of his armie before, to subdue such as would not submit themselues, and willed them to go forwards till they came to the riuer of Indus, & there to make boats, whereby he might transport his armie: & because they had to passe many

riuers, the boates were so deuised, that they might be taken a sunder to be caryed in carts and afterwards ioyned againe together. He appointed Craterus to folowe him with the Phalanx: & he with such horsmen & footmen as were light armed, went before, and being encountred on his way, fought a smal battel and did driue his enemies into the next City. When Craterus was come (to the intent he might strike terrour amongst those people that had not yet prooued ỹ Macedons force) he commaunded that when they wan the Citie, they should kil both man, woman, & child, and burne the same to the hard ground: But whiles he rid about the walles, hee was striken with an arrow. Notwithstanding the citie was won, & all put to the sword, the very houses not escaping ỹ victorys cruelty. After this he subdued an obscure nation, & came to a citie called Nisa. It chanced that whiles they encamped in a wood before ỹ city, there fell a cold in the night, that more afflicted the Macedons, then euer it had doone before in any other place: against the which, they prepared the remedy that was next at hand & cut downe the wood to make them great fiers: the flame whereof caught the sepulchres belonging to the city, which by reasō they were made of Ceder, were soone set on fire, & neuer

uer left burning till they were all consumed. That fier made both alarme in the citie, & to the camp: for therby the citizens iudged that their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceiued by the barking of the dogs, & noise of men, that the Indians would saly out vpon thē. Wherfore Alexander issuing out of his campe in order of battaile slue such of them as tempted the fight. Thervpon they within the city became of diuers opinions, some were minded to yeeld, & other thought good to aduenture the extremity. Whē Alexander vnderstood of their diuision, he caused his men to abstain from slaughter, and onelye to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wearied with the discommodities of the war, that they yeelded themselues. They affirmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who in deed builded their citie at the foot of a mountain called Meros: The qualitie of which mountaine being reported to Alexander by thinhabiters, he sent victuals before, and passed thether with his whole army, encamping vpon the top therof. The mountaine grew full of Vines & Ivy, abounding with springs þ flowed out in euery place. The same was also plentifull of many kind of apples of most plesāt tast: the grōd also brought forth corn without any cultiuatiō.

There grewe also plentie of Laurell trees, with many kindes of wilde fruite. I cannot impute it to any motion of religion, but rather to plentie and wantonnes, that caused them to repaire thither, where, of the Iuye and the vine leaues they made themselues garlands, and ran vp & downe after a dissolute maner, all the hollowes and valleys thereabout rebounding with the voice of so manye thousands, crying vpon Bacchus, to whome that place was dedicate: Which licence & liberty begun of a few, was spred so sodeinly throughout the whole armie, that the souldiers scattered abroade without order, lay here & there reposing themselues vpō the grasse & leaues that they had gathered together, as it had bin in a time of quiet & most assured peace: which licentiousnes of the soldiers rising by chance, Alexander did not withstand, but ten daies together made feasts to Bacchus, during which time he plentifully bāqueted his whole army. Who can therfore deny, but that gretnes of fame & glory, is oftentimes a benefite rather of fortune then of vertue: for their enemies had no hart to set vpon thē, whiles they were drowned in this excesse of banqueting, dronkenship, & drowsines, but were asmuch afraide of their dronkennesse, as if they had heard their crye encountring with them in battaile:

battaile: which felicity preseruing thē heare, did afterwards defend them after the same manner in the midst of their enemies, returning as it were in triumphe from the Occean Sea, when they were giuen al to feasting and to dronkennes. When Alexander descended from the mountaine, hee wente to a countrey called Dedala, which the inhabiters forsooke and fled to the woods, and the wilde mountaines; & therefore he passed frō thence into Acadera, which he found both burned & abandoned likewise of the inhabiters: wherby of necessitie hee was compelled to vse the war after an other maner. For he deuided his armie into diuers parts, & shewed his powre in many places at once. By which meanes he oppressed them before they could prouide, & subdued them to their vtter ruine. Ptholomeus toke most cities: But Alexander wan the greatest, and afterwards ioyned againe his army together, which hee had thus deuided. That done, he went forwards & passed a riuer called Choaspe, where hee left Cenon to besiege a rich city called Bezira: & he himselfe went to Mazage, where Assacanus being dead had left the dominion both of the Countrie and the citie, to his mother Cleophes. There were 300000 footmen to defend that citie, which both was well fortified

and strong of situation, beeing encloſed vpon the East with a ſwifte riuer, hauing ſteape bankes defending the citie, that it could not be approched on that ſide. Vpon the South and the weſt parts, nature (as it were for ỹ nonce) had planted high rocks lying betwixt them, & deep hollowes & pits made of old antiquitie: whereas the rocks ceaſed, there began a dike of wonderfull depth and wideneſs. The wall wherewith the City was encloſed, was xxv furlongs in compaſſe, whereof the nether parts were builded of ſtone, & the vpper parts of claye: Yet ſtones were mixed with the clay, to the intent that the fraile ſubſtance clinging to the harder, the one ſhould binde the other: & leaſt the earth waſhed vpon with the raine might fall altogether, there were ſtanchings of timber put betwixt to ſtaye the whole worke: which couered ouer with bords was a way for men to go vpon. Alexander beholding this kind of fortification, was vncertaine what to do. For he ſaw he could not approche to the walles, but by filling of thoſe dikes, & hollow places: and that he could not otherwiſe fill them, then by making of a mount, which was the onely waye he had to bring his engins to the wals. But whiles he was viewing the towne after that manner, he was ſtricken from the wall with an arrow

in the thigh. Which he pulled out, and without wrapping of his wounde, called for his horse, & letted not for his hurt to giue order for such things as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, ꝑ bloud drue from the wound and wared cold, whereby his hurt began to paine him, he then sayd that he was called the sonne of Iupiter: but yet he felt in himselfe the passions of a diseased body. Notwithstanding hee would not returne into the campe, before he had viewed all things that were necessary, and appointed all things hee would haue doone. After that the souldiours had receiued their appointement, by plucking downe of houses without the towne, they got great plentie of stuffe to make the mounte withall. And by casting stocks of trees on heapes into the dikes and hollow places, the mounte within nine dayes was raised vp to the toppe of the walles, and the towers were planted vpon the same: such was the labour and diligence the Souldiors vsed in the matter. The king before his wound was closed vp, went to see howe the workes went forward: and when he perceiued them in such case, commended the Souldiours for their diligence, and caused things to bee brought to the walles, out of the which they that defended the Walles were sore afflicted with

with shot. And by reason they had not seene any such kind of worke before, were wonderfully amazed: specially when they beheld the Towers of such bignes come forwards, and yet could not perceiue by what meanes they were mooued, iudged those things to be done by the power of the gods. And besides they could not thinke it a matter of mans inuention, that so great darts and speares, as came among them, should bee shot by engins: dispeiring therfore of the defence of their cittie, they retired into the castle. And because they could not be satisfied any maner of way till they had yeelded themselues, they sent embassadours to the king to aske pardon: which thing obteined at his hand, the Queene with a great traine of noble women came forth, bearing in their handes cups of golde full of wine: who presenting her little sonne, before the kings feet, not onely obtained pardon, but also restorement of hir former dignitye. Wherefore some thought that her beawtye procured her more fauour, then his mercye: But this is certaine that the childe, which afterwards she brought forth (whosoeuer did beget it) was called Alexander. From this place Polipercon was sent with a power to a cittie called Nora, where he ouerthrew in battaile the inhabiters that encountred with him.

him, wherby he got the citie into his possession. There were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders hands, by the abandoning of the inhabiters, which assembled themselues together in armour, and kept a rocke called *Oarinis*. The same was that Hercules had besieged the same before time in vaine, and by reason of an earthquake inforced to depart. When Alexander viewed this rocke, and saw how steepe it was and vnpassable, became void of counsaile, till such time as an old man that knew well the place, came to him with his two sonnes, offering for a reward to guide his men by a way vp to the top. Alexander promised them fourscore talents, & keeping one of his sons as a pledge, sent him to performe that hee had promised. Mullinus the kinges secretary was appointed with certaine souldiors light armed, to follow the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians, by fetching a compasse about ỹ rocke. But the same rocke was not as the more part be, which lying asloape, hath waies vp vnto the top by degrees. For it stood bolte vpright after the fashion of a but, broade beneath, and euer as it grewe vpward, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: And it was inclosed on the one side with the riuer of Indus, hauing high and steepe banks, and vpon

pon the other side with deepe dikes and hollowe places, full of water and mud. Wherefore there could bee deuised no way to win it, except those dikes were first filled. Ther was a wood at hand, which the king commaunded to be cut downe, and causing the bowes to be shred of for the carriage, filled the hollowes with the bare stocks. Alexander bare ỹ first tree, & all the souldiors followed after with a couragious shout: for there was no man that would refuse to do that they saw the king begin: so ỹ within seuen dayes the dikes & hollow places were filled vp. Then the king appointed the Agrians and the archers to go to the assault, & did chose 30. yoong men of such as he iudged most apt for the purpose, out of his owne bande, appointing Charus, and one Alexander to bee their conductors, and exhorted Alexander that the remembrance of his name might make him hardy. At the first because the hazard was so manifest, the king was not determined to aduenture his owne person. But when the trumpet blew to the assault, hee was of such a readie courage, that hee could not abstaine, but making a signe to his guarde that they should followe him, was the first that set foot vppon the rocke. Then there were fewe contented to tarry behinde, but many left their array whereas they stood

in

in order of battaile, and followed the King. The chaunce of many was miserable, whom the running riuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the rocke: Which sight was sorrowfull to such as were out of danger, beeing admonished by the perill of others, what they ought to feare themselues: hereuppon their compassion being turned into feare, lamented as well themselues, as those whome they saw die before their faces. At length they went so farre forth, that without getting of the rocke they could not retire backe againe without their great destruction. For their enemies rowled down great stones vpõ them, wherwith they were easily beaten downe, by reason the rocke had so slippery and vnstable standing. Yet for all that, Charus & Alexander, which were appointed to the leading of the thirtie chosen souldiours, had gotten to the top, and began to fight hand to hand. But there was so many darts cast at them from a far, that they receiued mo woundes then they could giue: wherfore Alexander both mindfull of his name, and of his promise, whiles he fought more eagerly then warily, was inclosed about & slain. Whom when Charus sawe dead, he ran vpon his enemies, and vnmindful of all thinges, sauing of reuenge, he slewe many with his pike, and diuers with his sworde.

But

But being laid at by so many at once, hee fell downe dead vpon the body of his friend. The death of these two so hardy yong men, and of of the rest, mooued Alexander greatly, yet perceiuing no remedy in the matter, caused the retreit to be sounded. It was greatly for their safeguard, that they retired by little and litle without appearance of any fear. And the Indians contented to haue repulsed their enemies, pursued not after them. Alexander hereupon was determined to leaue of his purpose, seeing he saw no hope how to winne the rocke: yet hee made a countenance as though he meant to continue the siege still. For both he caused the waies to be closed vp, and made an approach with towers of wood, alwayes putting fresh men in place of them that were wearied. Whē the Indians perceiued Alexanders obstinacie, two dayes and two nights they banqueted continually, and played vpon timbrels after their maner, to cause their enemies thinke that they had no doubt in ẏ siege, but trusted surly to preuaile. The third night the noise of the timbrels ceassed, and manie torches were seen burning, ẏ the Indians had lighted to see which way they might escape downe the rocke in the darke night. Alexander sent Balacrus to discouer the mater, who found that the Indians were fled, & that the

rocke

rocke was abandoned. Then a signe was geuen that the whole army should giue a shout together, whereby they did strike such fear amongst their enemies flying without order, that many of them thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped downe the rockes, & slew themselues, whereof some maymed in their falling were left behind their fellows that fled away. Thus the king being victourer of the place, rather than of the men, testified notwithstanding, with solemne sacrifice to the Gods, a greatnes of victory, and set vp Altars on the rocke to *Minerua* and *Victoria*. And though the guides by hee appointed to his light armed men, performed not so much as they promysed, yet their reward was truly giuen them. And the rule of the rock with the cuntry thereabout was committed to Sisocostus, he himselfgoing forwards with his army frō thence to *Echolima*. But understanding that certain straights through the which he should passe, were kept by one Erix with twenty thousand armed men: He committed that part of his army that were heauy laden to Cenon, to be brought on by soft iourneys, and going before in person with the slingers and archers, put his enemies to flight, making the way cleare for his army to passe that followed after. The Indians, whether it were for the hatred they bare

bare vnto their capitaine, or els for to get the fauour of the victorour, killed Erix as he fled away, and brought his head, and his armour vnto Alexander. He considering the foulenes of the act, would not honor the doers for thensample sake, nor punish thē because they serued his purpose. From thence by xvi. remouings, he came to that part of the riuer of Indus, where Ephestion had prepared all things in such sort as he had comission. One Omphis was king of that countrey, which before had perswaded his father to submit himselfe vnto Alexander. Who immediatly vpon his fathers death, sent Embassadours vnto him to know his pleasure, whether hee should take vpon him as a king before his comming, or els liue priuatlye in the meane season: and although it was permitted him to gouern as a king, yet he would not vse the authority that was granted him. He had caused Ephestion to be receiued in the best sorte he could deuise, but notwithstanding had not visited him, because hee would not commit his person to any mans fidelity but to ꝑ kings When hee vnderstood of Alexanders comming, he went towardes him with his whole power: Whose Elephants by small distances mixed in battaile amongst his footemen, shewed a farre of like Castles: At the first

Alex-

Alexander did not take him as a friend, but as an enemy, and therfore set his men in order of battaile, and his horsemen in wings in readines for to fight. When Omphis understood the errour of the Macedons, he cõmanded his men to stay, and putting his spurs to his horse, rode forwards alone. Alexander did the like, putting no doubt whether he wer a friend or an enemie, but thought himselfe sure, either through his owne manhodde, or the others fidelitie. Their meeting, as it appeared by their countenãces, was very frendly: but for want of an interpretor, they could not speake togethers. Therefore after they had called one vnto them, the Indian king declared vnto Alexander, that the cause hee met him with an army, was to put immediatly his whole power into his handes, and had not (he saide) tarried to intreat for any assurance by messengers, but vpon trust only had committed both his person and his kingdome to him, whome hee knewe to make warre for the winning of glorie and fame, and therefore could not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioiced to see his simplicitie, and proffered him his right hande as pledge of his promise, and restored vnto him againe his kingdome. Hee presented vnto Alexander fiftie fiue Elephantes with manie other beastes

of

of exceeding greatnes, and three thousande buls, which is a cattell of great value in those cuntries, and much esteemed of kings. Alexander enquired of him whether he had vnder his dominion more souldiors, or tillers of the ground. He answered that he was driuen of necessitie to haue more souldiors, because hee was at warre with two kinges, whose kyngdoms lay beyond the riuer of *Hidaspis*. Their names were Abrisares and Porus: but the authoritie remained in Porus, and saide that he was prepared and resolued to aduenture the hazard of the battell with such of them, as should inuade him first. Hereupon Alexander graunted vnto Omphis, both to take vpon him the diademe, and the name of his father that was called Taxiles: the custome of the country being such, that the name euer followed the kingdome whosoeuer enioyed it. When hee had receiued Alexander honorably in hospitalitie three daies, the fourth day declaring how much corne he had deliuered to Ephestion and to his army, presented to the king and to all his friends crownes of gold, & besides of coyned siluer fourscore talents. Alexander reioiced so much in his good will, that he both returned againe to him his gifts, and gaue him besides a thousand talentes of the spoyle hee brought with him, with much

plate

plate of gold and siluer, many garments after the Persian maner, and thirty of his owne horses, with the same furnimentes they ware when he did ride vpon them: Which liberalitie as it bound Omphis, so it greatly offended the minds of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper, when he had well drunke, said hee was very glad that Alexander had yet found one in India, whom he iudged worthie to receiue the gitt of a thousand talents. The king bearing in minde, how much hee had repented the slaying of Clitus for the rashnesse of his toong, refrained his anger, but yet told him that enuious men were euer tormentors to themselues. The next day the Embassadors of king Abiasares came vnto Alexander, who according to their commission offered all things vnto his will: Whereuppon promise and assurance being confirmed, they returned againe to their master. Alexander therfore thinking that through the greatnes of his name, Porus might be brought to doe the like, sent Cleochares to him to demaunde tribute, and to summon him to come & make his homage, when he should enter the bounds of his kingdome. Porus made aunswer that of those two requests he would perform one, which was to meete him at the entrye of his kingdome, but that should be in armes & with

a power. Alexander therfore being determined to passe the riuer of *Hidaspis*, Barzantes that had beene author of the rebellion among the Arachosians, was taken & brought to him bound with thirtie Elephants: an apte assistance against the Indians, that were woont to put more trust in those beastes, than in the force of their owne nation. Gamaxus king of a small portion of India, which had confederated with Barzantes, was brought likewise bound to him. Wherefore committing them both to prison, and the elephants to Omphis, came vnto the riuer of *Hidaspis*. But Porus lay in campe on the further side to let his passage, hauing fourescore and fiue Elephants of huge strength of body, three hundred wagons of warre, and thirtie thousand footemen, amongst whome there were many archers, whose shafts (as hath beene said before) were more heauy than they could welde. Porus himselfe did ride vppon an Elephant greater than all the rest, who also beeing of a bigge stature, appeared notable in his armour that was garnished with gold and siluer, hauing also a courage equal to the strength of his bodie, and so great a wisedome as was possible to be found amongst such rude nations: The Macedons were not so much afraid with the sight of their enemies, as they were with the great-

greatnes of the riuer that they had to passe, which being foure furlongs in breadth, and so deepe that no foode could be found, appeared to them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse thereof mittigated nothing the violence of the streame, but ranne with no lesse furie, than if it had beene narrow, appearing by the repercussion of the water in manie places, to bee full of great stones in the bottome. This Riuer beeing sufficient to feare them of it selfe: the sight of the further banke full of horse and men, was an increase of their terrour: Where the Elephants that had bodies of an vnreasonable greatnesse stoode in theyr sight, beeing prouoked to bray of purpose, to the intent that with their terrible noyse, they shoulde fill their enemies eares full of feare. Though the Macedons wer couragious and theyr heartes full of good hope, as they which oftentymes had had experience of their owne acts: yet their enemies, & the riuer both together made them wonderfully amased: for they could not thinke how to keep a stedfast course to the further shore in so weake and tottering boats, nor when they were ther, could see how to arriue with suretie. There were many Ilands in the midst of the riuer, into the which both the Indians and the Macedons did swim holding theyr weapons aboue their heades:

there they skirmished together in the sight of both kings, which by experiment of such smal things, made triall of the successe of ỹ whole. But amongst all the Macedons, there were two noble yong men called Sisimachus and Nicanor excelling in boldnes and in desperat attempts, which through their continual good fortune, had gotten a courage to despise all perill. Other yoong men of the most hardiest, tooke them from their Captaines, & without any other armour (sauing their pikes) swom ouer into an Iland being ful of their enemies, where through boldnesse onely they slew many of them, and so might haue returned with glory, if rashnes (where it findeth prosperous successe) could euer be content with mesure. But whiles with skorne and pride they taried for their enemies, they were sodainly inclosed of such as swom ouer the riuer, and were killed with darts, which they cast at them from a farre. Such as in this case escaped their enemies, were either drowned with violence of the water, or the eddies of the streame. This sight put Porus in great courage, that sawe all their doings from the further shoare: And though Alexander was long vncertain what way to take, yet at length hee deceiued his enemie by this policie. There was an Iland in the riuer greater than the rest, and apt to hide

his

his deuise, by reason it was full of wood, and had a great rampire cast vppon that banke, was towards his enemies. There both his footmen and horsemen might stande couered from the sight of the Indians: and the rather to turne their eyes another way from the spying out of that opportunity, he caused Ptholomeus with a great number of his horsmen to shew themselues against their enemies farre off from the Iland, and to put the Indians in feare of their crye, making euer a shewe as though they would swimme ouer the riuer: Which thing Ptholomeus did many dayes continually together, to the intent that Porus should bee inforced to remoue his power to that part to withstande him, and thereby broght thē out of the sight of the Iland. Alexander also caused his owne pauilion to bee set vpon the riuers side ouer against his enemies, and all the pompe that pertained to the state of a king to be set forth within their view, with the same band standing in sight, which was wont to remaine about his person. Furthermore Artalus, that was equal with Alexander in yeares, and like to him of face and personage, stoode there openly apparelled like a king, that it might appeare to Porus, that Alexander was still remaining there, and went not about to passe the riuer. The execu-

tion of this deuise was first letted by a Tempest, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effect: fortune euer vsing to turne her discommodities, into good successe towardes him. For when the enemyes were thus attent to obserue Ptholomeus ẏ lay vpon the riuer against him: And Alexander with the rest of the army, busie about the passing of his men into the Iland before mentioned: there fel sodenly a great storm, scarcely tollerable to such as lay within their cabbaines, which so much afflicted the souldiors abroad, that they forsooke their boates, and fled agayne to lande. And yet for all this, their clamour and their noyse was not heard of theyr enemies through the vehemencie of the shower. As this tempest began sodainly, so it sodainly ceased: but the clowdes remained so darke, that there appeared not so much light as the souldiors might knowe one another by the face, when they spake together: which darknesse might haue feared some other man considering they had to rowe in a riuer ẏ they knew not, their enemies (peraduenture) waiting for them at their landing, whither they went, as blinde men that for glory fought for perill. But Alexander vsed the thing that put other men in terrour, to serue for his purpose, and willed that euery man (vpon a signe giuen)

giuen) should enter into their boates with si-
lence: his boat was the first that launched frō
the shore, towardes the further side that was
void of his enemies, Porus onely keeping his
watch against Ptholomeus. There was but
one boate that stacke fast by the way vppon a
rocke, and al the other recouered the land. A-
lexander then commaunded the souldiors to
prepare their armour, and fal into array: And
whilest he was deuiding his men, to put them
in order of battaile, marching towards his e-
nemies: It was reported to Porus, that a
great number of men of warre were come o-
uer the riuer, & landed, which would straight
wayes giue him the battaile. But he at the
first (according to the fault that is mans na-
ture, through the ouermuch confidence that
he had in himselfe) beleeued not the matter,
but thought that Abiasares which was con-
federate with him, had come in his assistance.
Yet when the day appeared, and the matter
was manifest Porus then put forth a hundred
armed wagons, & four thousand horsmen, vn-
der the leading of Hagis his brother, to keepe
Alexander doing. They counted those wa-
gons their principall force: for euery one of
them carried six men, two Archers, two with
targets, and two that ruled the horses, which
were not vnarmed: but when it came to the
fight,

fight, they let their reines loose, and bestowed their darts amongst their enemies. But ỹ vse of those wagons serued that day to smal purpose: for the shower that had fallen more violently then was accustomed, had made the fields so wet & slabby, that the wagons could not stirre, but stacke in the mire, and became immouable: wheras Alexander being without baggage, or any thing that might be impediment vnto him, fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Scithians and the Dahans were the first that gaue the onset: and Perdicas was appointed with the horsemen to charge vpon the right hand battaile of the Indians. Then the battales beginning to ioyne on all parts, they that had the charge of the wagõs counting them the last refuge, slacked their reines, and rushed forwardes into the middest of the fight. The comming of these wagons appeared to be a matter dangerous & doubtfull to both parties. For at the first brunt both the Macedons were born ouer & ouerthrown by them: and when the wagons came in anie rough or mirie places, the Indians were thrown out of them. For when the horses that drew them were once galled, & put in feare: they carried the wagons without gouernement, and tumbled part in the mire, and part in the riuer: A few trauersed the fieldes, and

fled

fled for succour vnto Porus, who seeing his wagons scattered all ouer the fieldes, & wander about with their rulers, distributed the charge of his Elephants amongst his frends, and placed his footmen, and archers behinde them. He had many that sounded vpon Timbrels (beeing Instruments that the Indians vse in steade of Trumpets) wherewith theyr eares were so filled, that the noise of theyr enemies litle moued them. They bare also the Image of Hercules in the front of their foot battaile, which was done for an encouragement for them to fight well, & for a note of reproofe and offence to them that should flie frō that their standard: For it was losse of life to them that left it in the field. So that the feare that they conceiued of Hercules that sometime had beene theyr enemie, was then turned into a veneration & a religion. The sight both of the Elephants, and Porus himself, astonied the Macedons, and caused thē a while to stay. For the beastes beeing set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a far off lyke high towers, and Porus himself exceeding in manner the stature of many, the Elephant whereupon he did ride, was a setting foorth vnto his highnes, which excelled so much all the other Elephants, as hee himselfe excelled the rest of men: So that Alexander behol-

ding

ding both Porus and his power, saide, that at length hee had found a pearle equall vnto his heart. For we haue to doe (quod he) both with terrible beasts, and with notable men of war: And thereupon looked towards Cenon, and said vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus, Perdicas, and Ephestion, shall set vpon the left battaile of our enemies, and you shall see vs in the heate of the fight, do you then set forwards my right battaile: and freshly assaile them, when you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus, and Taaron, you bend against their maine battaile, and set vpon their front. Our pikes be long & strong, and cannot serue to any better vse, thē against the Elephants, wherwith they may be thrust through, and such ouerthrowne as be carryed vpon their backes. The Elephants be but an vncertaine force, which vse to doe most harme vnto theyr owne part: for as they vse to goe against their enemies so long as they bee at commaundement: So when they be once put in feare, they tourne against their owne side, and shew most rage towards them. Hee had not so soone spoken those wordes, but he put spurres to his horse, passing against his enemies: and when, according to his appointment he had giuen the charge, Cenus with a great force brake vppon the left battaile. And

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the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amongst the middest of their enemies. When Porus saw the horsemen gaue the charge, hee put forwardes his Elephantes to encounter them. But they being slow beasts, and not apt sodainly to moue, were preuented by ỹ swiftnes of the horses: and their bowes stoode not them in any great steade: for by reason theyr arrows were so long & heauy, that they could not nocke them within their bowes, excepte they staid first their bowes vppon the ground, and the grounde beeing so slippery that they could haue no perfect footing: whilest they were preparing themselues to shoot, their enemies were come amongst them. Then euerie man fledde from the order that Porus had giuen, as it chaunceth oftentimes amongst troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule, than the Capitaines appointment. For in so many parts as their army was diuided, so many generals became among them. Som would ioyne all their battailes in one: other would haue them diuided. Some willed to stay, and other to goe forwardes, and inclose their enemies about: There was no general consultation amongst them. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a few, with whō shame preuailed more then feare) assembled such of his forces together, as were dispersed abroad,

abroad, and went forwardes against his enemies, setting his Elephantes in the front of ye battaile. They put the Macedons in feare, troubling with their vnwonted crie, not onely the horse that naturally do feare them, but also amazed the men, and disturbed their order. Insomuch that they which a little before thought themselues victours, looked about which way to flie and saue themselues: which thing when Alexander perceiued, he sent against the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, that were men light armed, and apter to skirmish a farre off, than to fight hande to hand. They gaue the elephants and their gouernors much a doe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their darts, & arrowes that they bestowed amongst them: And the phalanx came constantly forwardes against them that were in feare. But such as pressed ouer forward in fighting with the Elephants procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to death with their feet, were an example to other, not to be ouer hastie in aduenturing themselues. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunkes called *Proboscides*, took men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them vp to their gouernors. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully, till the day was far spent:

the

the souldiors sometime flying from the Elephantes, and sometime pursuing after them, vntill that with a certaine kinde of crooked weapons called *Copidae*, (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vpon ꝑ legs. Those the Macedons had right aptly deuised for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnproued. Finally the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent strugling did cast their gouernors to the earth, and tare them in peeces: for they were put in such feare, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driuen out of the battaile like sheepe. Porus being forsaken of the more part o his men, ceased not to cast darts, wherof he had plentie prepared vpon his Elephant, amongst them that flocked about him, wherby he wo̅ding many by reason he lay open to euery mans blow, was laid at on all parts, til he had receiued nine wo̅ds behind and before, through the which hee bled so much, ꝑ he had no power to cast any more, but for feeblenes they fell out of his handes. The Elephant also which he did ride vppon, pricked forwards with furie, made a great disturbance amongst the Macedons, vntil that his gouernour seeing the King so faint, that hee let fall his Darts, and to bee almost past

his

his remembrance, stirred the beast to flye away, whom Alexander folowed in all that he might: but his horse that was thrust in with many woundes, fell downe dead vnder him: Wherefore whilest he was about to chaunge and take another, was cast farre behind. In the meane season Taxiles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, begā to exhort him that he should not bee so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yeeld himself vnto the victor. But he notwithstanding that his strength was neer past, and his blood fayled, yet stirred vp at a known voice, said, that he knew him to be the brother of Taxiles, a traitour to his king and his country, and with that word tooke a dart which by chance was not fallen away, and threwe it so at Taxiles brother, that it passed through the midst of his brest vnto his backe. And hauing shewed this last proofe of his manhood, fled againe more fast than before: But when the Elephant, thorough many woundes that hee had receyued, fainted in like sort, then he stayed, and turned his footemen towards his enemyes that pursued him. By that time Alexander was com neare vnto him, who vnderstanding the wilfulnesse of Porus, wylled none to bee spared that made resistaunce: Whereuppon euerye manne threwe theyr dartes agaynst

Porus,

Porus, and ſuch footmen as ſtood in their defence: wherewith at length hee was oppreſſed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. Then the Indian which was his gouernour, thinking that Porus deſired to haue lighted, cauſed the beaſt after his accuſtomed manner to bend towards the earth, which ſubmitting himſelfe, all the reſt as they were taught, bowed downe their bodyes likewiſe: which was the cauſe of Porus taking, and of the reſt. When Alex. ſaw Porus boundon ỹ ground, he cauſed him to be ſpoyled, thinking hee had beene deade, and diuers ranne about him to pull off his harneſſe and his veſture: which thing when the Elephant ſawe, hee began to defende his maiſter, running vppon his ſpoylers, and went about to lifte him againe vppon his backe: whereuppon they all ſetting vppon the Elephant ſlewe him, and layd Porus in a cart: Whome when Alexander did beholde, lifting vp his eyes, and moued with no hatred, but with compaſſion, ſaide vnto him:

What miſchiefe and madnes was in thy mind, hearing of the fame of mine actes, to hazard the battaile with me and my power, ſeeing Taxiles was ſo neare an enſample of the clemencie that I vſe to ſuch as ſubmit themſelues?

To whom he made aunſwere:

Forſomuch (q. he) as I am demanded a queſtion, I will

I will answer as freely as I am spoken vnto. Knowing mine owne strength, and not hauing proued thyne. I thought no man of greater power then my self: but now the successe of this battaile hath declared thee to be mightier. And yet therein I doo impute to my selfe no little felicitie, that I haue wonne the second place, and am next vnto thee.

He was asked more ouer his opinion, aftee what maner he thought good the victory should be vsed.

Vse it (quoth he) after such sort, as this dayes fortune shall put in thy minde, wherin there hath beene sufficient proofe shewed, how transitorie the felcitie of man is.

This admonishment auailed him more, thã if he had submitted himself, or made any sute. For when Alexander saw the greatnesse of his courage, and his heart so voide of feare, that it could not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onely to giue him his life, but also honorably to entertaine him. For so long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he took no lesse care of his curing, thã if he had fought in his quarrell. And when he was once healed (contrary to that which all men looked for) he receiued him amongst the number of his friendes, and inlarged his kingdome greater than before. There was nothing in Alexanders nature more perfect, or more constant, then that he would euer haue vertue in admi-

ration,

ration, when it was such, that it deserued true praise and glory: specially when hee sawe the same in his enemie. For when it chaunced in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thinking that their fame might be a destruction to his owne greatnes, which he euer thought to grow greater, as they were of greatnes that he subdued.

# The ninth Book of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander *the great, King of Macedon.*

ALexander reioicing in so notable a victorie, wherby he saw the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offered vp sacrifice to the Sun: and to cause his souldiors to bee more willing to go forwards in finishing the rest of ỹ wars assembled them together, and (after hee had commended their doings) declared howe in that latter battaile, they had defeated, & bro-

ken the force of all the Indians power, and should finde from thencefoorth nothing but a plentifull pray. For he said that in the cuntry whereunto he was going, the riches chiefely remained that was so much spoken of throughout the whole worlde, in respect whereof, the spoiles of the Persians were but vile & baggage: and that occasion was now giuen them not onely to fill their owne houses, but also all Macedonia & Greece with pearls, with pretious stones, with gold, and with Iuory. The soldiors beeing desirous both of riches and of glory, because they had neuer found his words vaine, promised him to do whatsoeuer he wold haue them: whereupon he dimissed them ful of good hope, and set them about the making of ships, to the intent that hauing ouerrunne all Asia, he might visit the Occean sea that was in the end of all the worlde. The mountaines next at hand were plentiful of timber to make ships withall, in cutting downe whereof the Macedons found Serpents of such bignesse, as they had not seene before, and also *Rhinocerotes*, beastes that be seldome found in any other place, which name was giuen to them by the Greekes: For in the Indian language they are otherwise called. Alexander builded a Cittie vppon eyther side of the riuer of *Hidaspis*, which once performed, he gaue to

euery

euery one of his Captains a crowne of golde, and a thousand peeces of gold besides: preferring & rewarding euery other, according to theyr qualitie, degree, & deseruing. Abiasares which had sent Embassadors vnto Alexander before the battaile fought with Porus, sent then Embassadors to him again, offering to do all thinges that he would appoint, so he might keepe his body at liberty: for he desired not to liue, except hee might remaine a king: & he thought himselfe vnmeet to raign afeer he has beene once a captiue. He signified againe to Abiasares, that if his comming should be greuous, he would not stick to visit him in person. Hauing thus vanquished Porus, and passed the riuer of *Hidaspis*, he went forward into the inner parts of India, which was a country full of great woodes, and high trees, the aire very holsome & temperate, the shadow of the trees mittigating the heate of the sun, and the plenty of springs keeping the ground moist: there were also many serpents seene, whose scales glistered like gold. There was nothing more daungerous, than the poison proceeding from them: for immediately vppon the stinging death followed, vntill such time as the inhabitours of the country shewed a remedie. From thence through deserts they came vnto the great Riuer of *Hiaroti*.

whereunto there ioined a great wood, which hauing such trees as are not wont to be seen in other places, was also ful of wild peacocks. Alexander remouing his camp from thence wan a towne by assault, and taking pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After that hee came to a great Citie (after the maner of that countrey) which was both well walled, and also enuironed about with a marish. The inhabitants came forth against Alexander, and ioyning their carts together in a front (wherin their custome was to fight) they proffered him the battaile. Some occupied darts, some speares, and other axes, and with great agilitie leaped to and fro, to their carts, whether they would releeue their fellowes that wer weary of fighting, or els succor or rescue such as were in distresse. This vnwonted kind of fighting put the Macedons at the first in feare, specially being hurt a far off by their enemies, and not able to come to hand stripes with them. But after they had considered their disordred maner, they esteemed not their force, but inclosed their enemies about, and thrust them in with pikes: and the sooner to defeat them, they cut the bandes, wherewith the carts were tyed, to separate them asunder. When they had after that manner lost eight hundred of their men, they fled agayne

into

into the cittie, which the nexte day the Macedons did win by assault. Certaine there were that saued themselues by flying, which seeing the Citie lost, swam ouer the water, and filled all the towns therabout with feare. They declared of what inuincible force their enemies were, iudging them in respect of their power rather to be Gods than mortal men. When Alexander had gotten that Cittie, hee sent Perdicas with a part of his army to destroy the country, and committing an other part to Eumenes for the subduing of such as would not become obedient, hee with the rest of his power, came vnto a strong citie, which was ỹ refuge of all the country thereabout. Notwithstanding that the inhabitants sent to Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuertheleſſe for the warre, by reason of a sedition which rose amongst them, that made them to be of diuers opinions: Some would rather haue endured any extremitie than to yeeld, & other thought they were not able to make resistance, and whilest they differed so in opinions, and made no common consultation amongst themselues: Such as helde opinion to yeeld vp the citie, opened the gates, and receiued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had iust cause of displeasure against the contrary faction, yet hee pardoned

them al, and receiuing their pledges remoued towards the next Citie. When the Indians that stood before the walles saw the pledges that were brought before the army, whome they perceiued to be of the same nation, desired communicatiō with them: who declaring both the kings clemency & his force, did moue them to render vp their Cittie, whose ensample the rest of the cities did folow. Frō thence he came into the Citie of *Sophites*, which is a nation (as the Indians thinke) most excelling in wisedome, best gouerned, and that haue the best customes amongst them. The children that bee there gotten, are not nourished and brought vp according to the will of their parentes, but by the order of such as haue the charge committed vnto them to view ỹ state of the infants. If they perceiue any not apt to become actiue, or els wanting any of their lims, they cause them straightwaies to be killed. They vse to mary without any respect of kinred they come of, or greatnes of parentage, making no choise, but in the shape of the body which is the thing onely esteemed amongst them. The king himself was within the chiefe citie of the country, against the which Alexander brought his power: The gates were shut, and no man appeared in armes vpon the wals to make any defence: wherfore he stood

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in doubt a great while, whether the citie was abandoned, or els that ꝑ inhabiters had kepte themselues secret for some policy. Whiles he remained in that expectation, sodainly ꝑ gate was opened, & the king (which in goodlinesse of person excelled all the rest) came forth with his two sons. The ware a garment of golde, & purple empaled, that couered the calfe of his leg, and the soles he ware on his feet wer set with pretious stones. All his armes wer garnished with pearls, & had hanging at his ears two pretious stones which were excellent, both for bignes and brightnes: and ther he had a scepter of gold set with pretious stones called *Berilli*, which he (after his salutatiõ made) with humble submission deliuered vnto Alexander: yeelding both himselfe, his children, and his kingdom into his hands. There were in that country verie notable dogges for the hunting of wilde beastes, which specially were giuen to be eager vpon the Lyon. The king therefore to shew their force and propertie vnto Alexander, put foure of them vnto a great Lyon, which straight wayes caught him fast. Then one which was accustomed to that office, tooke one of those dogges by the legge to plucke him from the Lyon, and because hee would not loose his holde, cutte off his legge with a sword. But when the dogge

ſtacke neuertheleſſe vnto his game, hee was cut in ſunder in peece meale, till ſuch time as he died, hauing his teeth ſtil faſtned in the Lions flesh, ſuch a feruentnes of nature had wrought in thoſe beaſtes, as we vnderſtoode by the repoꝛt. Sometime I am inforced to wꝛite things that I can ſcarſely beleeue: Foꝛ I neither dare affirme the things whereof I doubt, noꝛ conceale ſuch things as I haue receiued foꝛ truth. Alexander leuing this king within his owne kingdome, came vnto the riuer of *Hidaſpis*, and there ioyned with Epheſtion, which had ſubdued the country thereabout. One Phegelas was king of the nexte nation, which commaunding his ſubiectes to continue in tilling of the ground as they wer wont to doe, met Alexander with rich pꝛeſents, refuſing nothing that was commanded him. When he had taried with him two daies & was determined the thirde day to haue paſſed the riuer, hee found therein great difficultie by reaſon that the ſtreame was ſo large & full of great ſtones: Hee ſtayed therefoꝛe a while to be moꝛe fully aduertiſed of the ſtate of thoſe countryes, and of all ſuch thinges as were neceſſary foꝛ him to knowe. He vnderſtood by Phegelas how beyond that riuer ther lay a deſert of ten daies iourney, and nexte to that deſert the riuer of *Ganges*, which was

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the greatest riuer in all the Orient. He shewed that beyond *Ganges* there inhabited two nations called *Gangaridans*, and *Pharasians*, whose king was called Aggramenes, which vsed to come to the field with twenty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footemen, two thousand armed wagons, and three thousand Elephants, which were counted the greatest terrour. Those things seemed incredible vnto Alexander, and therfore inquired of Porus, if the things were true that had bin told him. He confirmed Phegelas report cõcerning the force of the nation. But hee sayde their king was come of a noble bloud, but of the baselt sort of men, whose father beeing a barbour, and with great pain getting his daily liuing, came in fauour with the Queene, who brought him to haue all the doings about the king her husband, which was afterwards slaine by their treason. Then he vnder colour to become tutour vnto the children, vsurped the kingdome to himselfe, and putting ỹ children to death, did beget him that was then king, being in hatred and disgrace of the people as one that followed more the manners of his fathers former estate, than such as did beseeme the dignity of a Prince. When Alexander heard Porus affirme this matter, he became in great trouble of mind, not that hee

regar-

regarded the multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephants: But hee feared the greatnes of the riuers, & the scituation of the cuntry, so difficult to enter vpon. He thought it a hard enterprise to seeke out nations so far inhabiting in the vttermost boundes of the worlde. Yet on the other side the greedines of glory, and the vnsatiable desire of fame, made no place to seeme too far, nor no aduenture to be ouer hard. He doubted also that the Macedons which had passed so many countryes, & were waxen aged with warres, would not be content to follow him ouer so many riuers, & against so many difficulties of nature lying in their way. For hee iudged that since they abounded and were so laden with spoile, they would rather seeke to enioy such thinges as they had gotten, than to trauaile any further in getting of more, he could not think the same appetite to be in his soldiors, that was in him selfe. For he compassed in his minde how to get the empire of the whole world, into which matter hee had but made his entry: whereas they wearyed with trauaile, and thinking to haue past all perill, looked to enioy with speed the fruit of all their labour: yet for all that his affection ouercame reason. For he assembled his army together, and spake vnto them after this manner.

I am not ignorant (my ſouldiors) how that there be nowe many rumors ſowed amongſt you by the Indians, purpoſely to bring you in feare. But the vanity of their lying is not ſo new a thing, that it is able now to deceiue you. The Perſiãs after that maner would haue made the ſtraights of Silicia, and the plaines of Meſopotamia terrible to you: yea and put you in feare of the riuers of Tyger & Euphrates: and yet wee waded ouer one of them, and paſſed the other by a bridge. The fame neuer reporteth things truly, but maketh al things greater than they be indeed. Euen our glorie though it be grown to a certain perfection, yet it is more in fame, than in effect. Which of you of late did think that you ſhould haue beene able to endure the Elephants, ſhewing a far off like caſtles? who thought I could haue paſſed the riuer of Hidaſpis when it was reported to be much greater than it was? Wee ſhould long agoe (my ſouldiors) haue fled out of Aſia, if tales could haue cauſed vs to turne our backes. Thinke you that the number of the Elephantes bee greater then you huue ſeene heards of beaſts in other places? ſeing they be ſo rare in the world and ſo ſtrange to be taken? ther muſt needs bee much more difficultie in the making of them tame. The ſame vanity that hath reported them to you to bee of ſuch number, hath numbred alſo their horſemen and their footmen. Concerning the riuers, the more broad they bee, the more gently they muſt runne. For ſuch as be narrow & of ſmall breadth, run alwayes with the moſt vehement ſtreame, whereas contrarywiſe, the broad riuers paſſe their courſes more mildly. But you will peraduenture ſay that all the peril is at the ſhore, where your enemies ſhall waite for your arriual. Whatſoeuer the riuer be, the haſard

is all one at the landing. But imagine that al thoſe things were true, whether is it the greatneſſe of the beaſtes, or the multitude of the men that put you in feare? As concerning the Elephants, wee haue had experience of them of late, howe much more rigorouſly they rage againſt their own partie, than againſt vs, what ſhould we eſteem them, but only abate the greatnes of their bodies with ſuch weapons as wee haue prepared for the purpoſe? What matter is it whether they bee of the like number that Porus had, or whether they bee three thouſand, ſeing we perceiue that when two or three be once wounded, the reſt bende themſelues to flie away? And foraſmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but few, when there be ſo many thouſandes together, they muſt needs be an impediment one to another, & breed a confuſion amongſt themſelues: they bee ſo vnwieldy by reaſon of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to paſſe forwards, nor yet to flye. I haue alwayes ſo little eſteemed them, that when I haue had plentie of that kind I would neuer vſe them: knowing very well that they be more daungerous to ſuch as occupy them, than they bee to their enemies. But peraduenture it is the multitude of their horſemen and footmen that mooue you: were you neuer woont to fight againſt ſuche numbers? or is it the firſt time that you haue incountred with diſordred multitudes? The Riuer of Granike is a witneſſe how inuincible the power of the Macedons is againſt any multitude. And ſo is Silicia that flowed with the Perſians bloud, and Arbella whoſe plaines be ſtrewed with theyr bones. It is ouer late to count the number of your enemies, after that with your victory yee haue made Aſia deſert: when ye paſſed ouer Helleſpont

you ſhould then haue conſidered your ſmal number. Now the Scithians do follow vs, we haue ayd at hande from the Bactrians, and wee ſupply our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is not in them, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force: I reſerue your manhoode about me, as a pledge and aſſurance of my actes & doings. So long as I may ſtand in the field among you, I will neither weigh my ſelfe, nor mine enemies. Do you but ſhew an appearance, that there is hope in you and chearefulnes. We are not now newly entred into our trauailes, but haue paſſed all our labours, being come vnto the riſing of the ſun, and to the Ocean ſea, except our owne ſloth be our impediment. From thence hauing ſubdued the worlde, wee ſhall returne as victours into our country. Do not you as theſe negligent husbandmen, that loſe their fruit after it is once ripe. The rewards of our iourney be greater than our peril. The cuntry that we go vnto is rich & of no force: thither I purpoſe to bring you, both to win glory, and to get you ſpoyle. For worthy are you to carrie ſuch riches into your country: which bee ſo plentiful there, that the Sea doth caſt them vp againſt the ſhore. You bee men of that vertue, that yee ought to leaue nothing vnprouided, nor nothing vndone for feare: I deſire and pray you by the glory ye haue gotten, in which ye exceed the ſtate of men, and by all that I haue deſerued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remayne as inuincible, that ye will not forſake me, purpoſing to viſit the end of the world, me I ſay that haue bene brought vp as a childe amongſt you. I wil make no mention how I am your king: In the reſt of things I haue commaunded you: let me now intreat you in this one point. It is I that make this requeſt vn-

to

to you, which neuer commaunded you any thing, but I put my ſelfe formoſt in the aduenture and danger, and the which oftentimes in mine owne perſon haue beene the formoſt in defence of the battell: take not the victory out of my hands, with the which (if enuy be not the let) I ſhall become equal in glory both to Hercules & Bacchus. Giue your aſſent to mine interceſſion, and at length breake your obſtinat ſilence. Wher is your ſhowting become that was wont to be a declara ion of your chearefulnes? Where be the countenances of my country men? I know not my ſouldiors, and it ſeemeth that I am not known of you. Me thinks I crie to your deafe eares in vaine, and goe about in waſt to ſturre vp your vnwilling, and vnmoueable minds.

**Notwithſtanding al theſe wordes, they hung down their heads towards the earth, & perſeuered ſtil in ſilence. Then he proceeded:**

I know not (quod he) wherein I haue vnwitting offended you, that you wil not once vouchſafe to looke me in the face. I ſeeme to be ſolitary, & in a deſert. Is there none of you that I ſpeake vnto wil anſwere me? Is there none at the leaſt wayes will deny my requeſt? What is the thing that I require euen your owne glory, and your owne increaſe. Where be they now that I ſaw not long ago contending who ſhould firſt take vp their king, when he was wounded? And now ye leaue me alone: ye forſake me, ye betray me to mine enemies. But I will not leaue mine enterpriſe though I go alone. Put me forwards to thoſe riuers, to thoſe beaſtes and to thoſe nations, the very names of whom ye fear ſo much. The Scithians & Bactrians ſhall go with me, which of late were mine enemies, & now

be

be my ſouldiors. I had rather die, than bee a King to be ruled, and at others mens appointment. Depart you home, go I ſay, and triumph of the abandoning of your king. For I will rather obtain here the victory, wherof you haue diſpaired, or els die a death that ſhall be honourable.

Notwithſtanding al that he had ſaid, there was not one ſouldiour that would open his mouth to ſpeake, but ſtood waiting that ſome of the princes and great Capitains ſhoulde declare vnto the king their ſtates, & how that there remained not in them any obſtinate refuſall of the wars, but that they were exhauſted with wounds, & wearied with continuall trauel, that they were not able to endure anie longer. As they ſtood thus aſtonied and afraid in ſilence, and looking vpon the ground, there began firſt a whiſpering and a rumor among them, and afterwards a lamentation: and by little and little they began more manifeſtly to ſhewe their dolour, the teares falling from their eyes. The Kinges anger was then ſo turned into compaſſion, that he was not able neyther to keepe himſelfe from teares, but the whole aſſemblie did burſt out into an exceſſiue weeping. And when the reſt were at a ſtay to ſpeake, Cenus tooke vpon him to preſſe forwards towards the iudgement ſeat, where Alexander ſtood, ſignifiyng that hee had ſomwhat to ſay. When the ſouldiors ſaw

him

himpull his helmet from his heade (for so it was the custome to speake vnto the king) they began to require him that he would vtter the cause of the whole armye. Then Cenus began on this wise.

The Gods defende our mindes from all wicked thoughts, as I doubt not but they will: there are none of your souldiors, but of the same minde towardes you, that they haue beene in times past, whether it be your pleasure to command them to goe forwards to fight, and to hasard themselues, or with their bloud commend their name vnto the posteritie. And if you will needes perseuer in your opinion, though we be vnarmed, naked, and without bloud, wee will eyther come after you, or go before, as you shall thinke expedient: But if you will be content to heare your souldiors griefs and complaints which be not fayned, but expressed by force of very necessitie, I humbly beseech you then, that ye would vouchsafe fauourably to heare them, that constantly haue followed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet ready to follow whersoeuer you will appoint. O Alexander, with the greatnes of your actes, yee haue not ouercome only your enemies, but also vs your own souldiors, whatsoeuer mans mortalitie is able to fulfill, that is performed by vs, hauing passed ouer so many Seas, and Countryes better known to vs than to the very inhabitours, nowe remaining in maner in the vttermost end of the world. And yet for all this, your purpose is to passe into an other world, and seeke out an Inde vnknowne to the Indians. Ye couet to plucke out the wild beasts, and Serpents out of their dennes, and lurking places, minding to search further with your victory then

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the Sun hath visited with his beames, which truly is an imagination meet for your heart, but farre exceeding our capacitie and power. Your manhood and courage is alwayes in increase: but our force groweth in declination. Behold our bodyes destitute of bloud, pierced with so many wounds, and rotted with so many scars. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armour is wasted and consumed: wee weare our apparell after the Persians manner, because our country garments do fayle vs: we are degenerate out of our owne fashion, & grown into a strange habite, what is he that hath his corselet, or horse particular to himself? Cause it to be enquired how many remaine amongst vs, and what remaineth to euery man of the spoyle. Being the victours of all men, of all men wee are the poorest. It is not aboundance or excesse that troubleth vs, but the very warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, and yet ye mind to put forth this goodly army of yours naked to those beasts: The multitude of whom though the Indians purposely do increase, yet of their vaine report wee may perceiue the number to be great. But if yee bee vtterly determined to passe yet further into Inde, the country that lyeth Southward is not so desert as the other, which being subdued, ye may passe to that Sea, which nature hath appoynted to bound in the world. Why doe you seeke that glory a far off, which remaineth to you readie at your hand? Here the Occean sea doth meet vs, & except your minde be to wander, we are come to the place predestinate to vs. I had rather speake these things before you, then behind your backe: for I seeke to win fauour amongst the men of war that stand heere about me, but desire you should rather heare their mindes expressed in playne

words, then to heare their griefe & their grudge vttered in muttering, and in murmure.

When Cenus had made an end of his tale, there rose a crie and lamentation, which with confused voices euery where called Alexander their king, their father, and their Lorde. Then the other Captaines (and specially the Elders, which by reason of their age had the more honest excuse, and greater authority) made the like request, so that the kings was not able to chastise them being in that obstinacy, nor mittigat them being so moued: therfore vncertaine what to do, he leapt from the iudgement place, & commanding his lodging to bee shut in, admitted no man but such as were accustomed about his person. Two daies he consumed in his anger, & the third he came forth amongst his men, causing xii. altars of square stone ther to be set vp as a monument of his iourney, and willed the trenches of his campe to be made wider, & the places where the souldiors lay to bee inlarged greater than serued for the bignesse of their bodies: thinking by the forme and shape of things thus increased, to leaue a deceitful wonder to his posteritie. From thence he returned againe by the way he had passed before, and incamped vpon the Riuer of *Acesines*: Cenus chaunced there to die, whose death the king lamented:

but

but yet he said ỳ for so few daies hee had made ouer long an oration: as though he alone shuld haue returned into Macedon. By that time the nauy of ships which hee had appointed to be made, stood in readines aflote: & Memnō in the meane season brought him out of *Thrace* a supply of six thousand horsmen, and besides from *Harpalus* 7000. footmen, with 25000 armours that were wrought with siluer and gold, which he distributed amongst his men, and commaunded the olde to be burned, purposing to passe vnto the Occean sea with a M ships. But before his departure, he reconciled together by affinitie Porus and Taxiles, betwixt whom there was a new discord risen vpon their olde hatreds. He had obtained of them great ayde both in the making and furnishing of his nauy. During the time he was about that businesse, he builded there two cities: whereof he called the one *Nicea*, & the other *Bucephalon*, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was dead. He gaue order that his Elephants and carriage should passe by Lande, and he sayled downe the Riuer, proceeding euery day about fortie furlonges, so that he might euer land his power in such places as he thought conuenient. At length hee came into a countrey whereas the Riuer of *Hidaspis* and *Acesines* do ioyne

together, and doe runne from thence into the bounds of a nation called *Sobions*. They declared that their predecessors came of Hercules army, which beeing left there sicke, did inhabit the country. They were cloathed in beasts skins, using clubs for their weapons: & though they had left the customs of ỳ Greeks yet ther appeared many things among them, that declared from whence they were descended. Heere the king landed and marched two hundred and ten furlonges within the country, which hee wasted: and tooke the chiefest Citie in the same. There were forty thousand men that stood in defence against him vpon a Riuers side, but hee passed the water, putting them to flight, and after they fled into the Citie, he wan it by force. The children wer slain, and the rest sold as slaues. He assaulted another Citie, where hee was repulsed with the great force of the defendants, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitants sawe that hee continued stil the siege, dispairing of their safegard, they set fire on their houses, & burned themselues, their wiues, & their children. Which fire when the Macedons quenched, and they kindled the same againe, it seemed a strange contention, the cittizens to destroy their owne cittie, their enemies labouring to saue it: the warres so contrariously chaun-

chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature: The castle was saued, wherein a garrison was left. Alexander went about this castle by water, which was enuironed with three of the greatest Riuers in all Inde, *Ganges* except *Indus* passing on the North side, & *Acesines* running into *Hidaspis* vppon the South. Where these Riuers met, the waues rose like forges of the sea, being ful of mud, & ooes, which by the course of the water were driuen vnto the sides: for all that the Riuers are broad, yet the channels are but narrowe, wherin the ships must passe. The waues did rise so high and thick, breaking sometime vpon the pups of the ships, and sometime vpon the side, that the shippemen began to baile their sailes. But they were so troubled through feare and the violent swiftnes of the streame, þ they could not order their tackling, so that two of their greatest ships were drowned in sight: and the smaller vessels which were as vnable to be gouerned, were driuen vpon the shore without any harme. The King chanced vpon the place wheras the waues went highest, wherewith his ship was so tossed & trauersed, that the helme could not direct his course. Wherfore the King douting of drowning, pulled off his garment ready to cast him selfe into the water, and his frends did swim

neare thereabout ready to receiue him: it appearing vnto him doubtful, which peril was greatest, either to swim or to continue stil aboord. But the mariners labored wonderfully with their oares, adding all the force that lay in mans power to cut through the waues by whose importunat trauaile the water seemed to diuide asunder, & to giue place, so that at length they haled out of the surges: & yet not able to bring the ship to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appearing that the ships and the streame had fought a battail togither. Alexander hauing escaped this peril, set vp to euery riuer an altar, whereupon he offered due sacrifice, & that done, past forwards thirty furlongs. From thence he came into the country of the Sudracans & Mallians, which accustomed to be at war among themselues: then for their owne defence they ioyned in societie. They assembled in armes to the number of nine thousand footmen, tenne thousand horsmen, & ix. hundred armed wagons, whereof when ỹ Macedons were aduertised, which beleeued that they had passed all perils, seing a fresh warre arise, with a new fierce nation, were amazed with a sodaine feare, and began againe with seditious words to reproue their king. They alledged that hee would lately haue compelled them to passe the riuer of *Ganges*,

ges, for to make war vpon those nations lying beyond the same: which enterprise though it were lefte, they had not for al that ended the war neuer the more, but rather made an exchange of a new labour, beeing put foorth amongst this wild nation, to make the Occean sea open to him with their bloud, and to bee drawne beyond the sun and starrs. They were compelled (they saide) to visite those places ꝑ nature coueted to remoue from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their new armor there were new enemies raised vp, whome if they should vanquish and put to flight, they could not see what benefit they could receiue thereby, but only darknes & obscuritie of the aire, which alwaies couered the deep sea, replenished with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immouable waters, whereas nature decaying, she fayled of her force. The king little mooued in his owne respect, was greatly troubled with those passiõs of his soldiors. Wherfore hee assembled them altogether, declaring of how feble a force those nations were, whome they feared so much, which only remained, and were impediment to them (hauing ouer passed so many countrys) to attaine both to the full of their trauaile, and to the end of the worlde. He shewed how that in respect of their former feare, hee had left his

enterpryse ouer *Ganges*, with the conquest of the nations inhabiting beyond the same, and had directed his iourney this way, whereas their glory shall be as great, and theyr perill much lesse and wherein they had not farre to trauaile seeing the Ocean was in maner with in sight: the aire whereof hee felt blowing in his face. He required them therfore that they would not enuy the glory that hee had sought by passing the bounds of Hercules and Bacchus, seing that with so litle paine they might giue vnto their king perpetual fame and immortalitie. In doing whereof they should depart out of India as victorers, whereas otherwise they should seem to flie away frō thence. It is the property of euery multitude, and specially of men of war, to be drawne with euery little motion, amongst whom as sedition doth soon arise, so it is soon pacified. Ther was neuer a more chearefull cry made of any army before, than the souldiors then made to Alexander, which willed him to leade them whither soeuer hee would, and make himselfe equal in glory vnto them whose actes hee did counterfait. Alexander reioicing in the willingnes ỳ appeared in them, remoued straight waies towardes his enemies that were the stoutest people of all the Indians. They prepared themselues stoutly for the warres, and chose

chose for their Capitaine one of the Oxidracans, that was of an approued manhood: who encamping at the foote of a mountaine, made fiers all abroad, to cause his number appeare the greater, and went about in vaine to feare the Macedons when they were in rest, by making of Alarmes, with their cries & manner of howling. When the day appeared, Alexander hauing an assured trust to win the victory, commaunded the souldiors to put on their armour, and chearefully to fall in order of battaile. But the Indians (whether it were for feare, or by reason of some sedition risen amongst them) sodainly fledde into the desert mountaines, whome Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, tooke their carriage. After this he came to a citie of the Oxidracans, whereunto great numbers were fled, as wel in trust of the strength of ỹ place, as of their own power. As Alexander was about to make ỹ approch, Demophon his diuiner admonished him that he should either deferre the matter, or els not medle with it at all: for that there appeared signs that his life should be in peril. When Alexander had heard his words, he beheld him and said:

If any man should interrupt thee when thou art busie about thy science, or considering of the intraicls: should not he seeme vnto thee troublous,

and

and his comming to be vngrateful?

Yes truly (quoth he.)

So art thou now vnto mee (quod Alexander.) For hauing so great matters in hand of more moment than the intrailes of beastes: I find no greater impediment than a superstitious diuiner.

And as soone as he had spoken the worde, he caused them to reare vp ladders, & whilest other men sticked and staied at the matter, he mounted vp the wal. The same was very narow in the top, not diuided with lopes (as is commonly vsed) but inclosed with one whole and continual battilment round about, which causes it to be the more hard to scale. Alexander therfore hauing no conuenient roome to stand at his defence, staied vppon the wall, receiuing vpon his target the darts that were cast at him frō all parts. His souldiors could not get to him, they were so beaten from the wals by the multitude of shot that came frō aboue. Yet at last when by their staying they sawe their king giuen vp into theyr enemyes hands, shame ouercame their imminent danger. But their ouer much hast was too great a let, and the cause why they could not come to the rescue of their king. For whilest euery man coueted vp the ladders, they were so sore laden, that they brake a sunder, and such as were mounted vpon them, fel downe againe, deceiuing Alexander of his onely hope: So

that

that in the sight of all the army he stood destitute as in a desert, without any aid or succor, and had wearied his left arme (with which he held his target in receiuing the blowes. His friendes cryed vnto him to leape downe vnto them, who stood in a readines to receiue him. But he giuing no eare vnto them, vndertook an incredible enterprise, and such one as hath not bin heard of before, deseruing rather fame of rashnes, than of any commendation that might sound to his glory. For with a ful leape he cast himselfe into the citie that was full of his enemies, whereas he could scarsely haue any hope to fight for his life, or in dying to bee reuenged on his enemies. For before he could recouer his feet againe, it was likely either he should haue bene slain, or taken aliue. But he by chance so conueyed his body, that he fel vpon his feet, & standing, encountred with such as came against him: fortune so prouiding þ he could not bee inclosed about, by reason of an old tree, which (as it had bene of purpose) stood near vnto the wal: whose broad boughs ful of leaues couered him from aboue, and the greatnes of the stocke kept his enemies from comming on his back, and vpon the forefront he receiued the dartes that were cast against him with his target. For though there were neuer so many that contended w̄ him a far of,

yet durst there no man come neare vnto him: and the boughes kept off the arrowes and the darts so well as his target did. In this extremitie & greatnes of Alexanders fame chiefly fought for him, & next desperation: a great encouragement for a man to die honestly. At length through the multitude of his enemies that continually flocked about him, both his target was laden with shotte, his helmet was broken with stones, and his legs fainted and fayled vnder him, by reason of his continuall trauaile: which thing when his enemies perceiued, they tooke lesse regard to themselues and drew more neare him, of whom he receyued two with his sword, in such sort, that they fel down dead at his feet. And from that time forwards none was so bold to approch again so neare him, but threw dartes and shotte arrowes at him a far off. He lay open to every mans blow: & yet (though it were with great paine) defended himselfe vpon his knees, vntil such time as an Indian shotte an arrow at him that was two cubits long, which a little aboue his right thigh passed through his coyslet: By reason of that wound he shed so much bloud, that hee let his sword fal, as one at the point of death. And therewith became so faint that he had not strength to plucke out the arrow. Then the Indian which had hurt him,

came

dame with great ioy to spoyle his body. But when Alexander felt his enemies hand vpon him: moued (as it is to be thought) with despite, to receiue an infamy to that extremity, called againe his spirits that were passing away, and with his sword thrust his enemie being vnarmed) through the body. When hee had thus slaine two his of enemies which lay dead before him, all the rest stoode amazed a far off. Then Alexander desiring before his last breath should fayle to bee killed fighting, began to raise vp his body vppon his target: yet his strength would not serue him thereunto, and therefore reached at a bough that hung ouer his head, coueting thereby to haue raysed vp himselfe. But his power not sufficing thereunto, he fel downe againe vpon his knees, and by a sign made with his hand, challenged his enemies if any of them durst come and match with him. At the last Peucestes repulsing his enemies vppon another part of the Citie, got into the towne, and coasting along the wals, came vnto the place where the king was. When Alexander espied him, though he had no hope to liue, yet he tooke his comming for a comfort to his death, and for al his feeblenes began to reare vp himselfe: then came Timeus, & within a while Leonatus, and after them Aristonus. When it was

once

once published amongst the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the wals, they left their defence in other places, & came flocking thither, whereas they fiercely assailed such as stood at defence of the kings person. Timeus, after that he had fought notably, & receiued many wounds, was there slain. Peucestes also, notwithstanding that he was striken and wounded with their darts, yet with his target he defended the kings person, without any regard of himselfe. And Leonatus, whilest he resisted the Indians that eagerly pressed vppon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe on the neck, that he fel down in a sowne at the kings feet. By that time Peucestes became so feeble of his wounds, that he was not able to defend him any more. The last hope and refuge remained in Aristonus, who also was so greuously wounded, that that he could not indure any longer the force of ỹ Indiãs. In the mean season the same was spred amongst the Macedons that their king was slaine: which being a matter that should haue put others in feare, stirred vp their harts, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwards, there was none that had respect of his owne perill, but aduentured vnto the wall, and breaking downe the same with pickaxes, entred at the breach, making slaugh

ter

ter of theyr enemies, of whom few stood at defence, but fled away.

There was neuer man nor woman spared old nor yong. For they met none but they iudged him to be the person that had hurt theyr king, and so at length with the murder of the multitude theyr iust ire was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes do write, that Ptholomeus, which afterwards became King of Egypt was present in this encounter. But he himselfe, that vsed not to deny any thing that stood with his own glory, did put in memory how that he was then absent, sent about another enterprise. Such a negligence was then in them that did write the antiquities of things, or els as much credulity, which is a fault no lesse than the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodging, the Surgions cut off the stale of the shaft in such sort, that they moued not the head that was within the flesh, and when they saw the wound bare, they perceiued hooks to be within the arrow head, so that without the destruction of his body it could not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wound greater: & yet in that point they feared least abundance of bloud should bee an impediment vnto them. For the head was very great, and it seemed to bee entered farre within his bodie. There

was

was one Critobolus, that was very cunning and most excellent amongst the Phisitions & Surgeons, and yet in so daungerous a matter as this, hee was fearefull and in doubt to sette to his handes, least if any thing shoulde chance to the king otherwise then wel, whiles hee remained in this cure, the blame might light vpon his head. Therefore when Alexander perceiued by his weeping the feare he was in, and that through trouble of minde he looked pale in the face, laid vnto him.

What is it that thou lookest for, or why doest thou stay in ridding of me quickly out of this pain at the least wise by death, if thou canst not otherwise bring it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncurable, why dost thou feare that any thing shuld be layd vnto thy charge?

When Critobolus heard his words, hee either ceased or dissimuled his feare, & exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himself to bee holden whilest they pulled out the arrow head that was within his flesh: for the least motion (he said) might bee hurtfull vnto him. The king would not be holden, but helde his body at a stay without mouing, in such sort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wound wider, & pulled out the head, there issued such aboundance of bloud, ỳ the king fel in a sowne, and a dim came ouer his sight, hee stretched out himselfe as one in the pangs

pangs of death. Then they wrought all the meanes they could to staunch the bloud: but when they perceyued it would not auaile, his frends began to cry out and lament, thinking verely that there had bene no way but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his bleding, and recouering again his spirits, began to know them that stood about him. All that day and the night ensuing, the men of warre stood in armes about the kings lodging, confessing that all their liues depended vpon his weath, and would not remoue from thence, before they vnderstood that he took som rest. But when they knewe that hee was fallen a sleepe, they returned into the camp, bringing vnto the rest more certaine hope of his recouery. Alexander about the curing of his wound, remained there seuen dayes: and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spread abroad amongst the Indians, he caused two ships to be fastned together, and a lodging to be made for him in the midst: So that remaining vppon the water, he might be seen from both sides of the land, of them that thought he had bene dead. When the country men by the view of him perceiued he was on liue, they tooke away the hope that some had conceiued vpon the false report. From thence he passed down the stream, leauing a distance

betweene his ship, and the rest of the nauy, to the intent that with the beating of the oares, they should not disturbe him of his rest, which was necessary for his weak body. The fourth day after his imbarking, he came into a country abandoned of the inhabitors, but yet plentiful both of corne and cattel, in which place he thought expedient both to rest himself, and his souldiors. It was a custome amongst the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiefe Princes, and the great menne watched about his lodging: Which manner being then obserued, they entered altogether into the chamber where Alexander lay: at whose sodaine comming he was somewhat amazed, specially because they came altogether. He thought they had brought him some strange tidings, and enquired of them if they vnderstood of any newe assembly of his enemies. Then Craterus ꝑ was appoynted to speake in the behalfe of them all, said to him after this maner.

Doe you thinke that the comming of any enemies could make vs so carefull (though they were entred within your campe) as we be of your helth and safegard, for of al that it is a thing which you regard least? Though all nations conspire against vs with their power, though the whole world wer filled full of men of warre, the Seas ouer-spread wth shippes, and neuer so many straunge beastes

brought

brought againſt vs, it conſiſteth in the moment of your perſon to make vs victorers. But how can any God promiſe, that you which are the light and ſtarre of Macedonia, can be of any continuance? ſeeing you bee ſo deſirous to put your perſon in ſuch manifeſt perils, not remembring that with your death you drawe with you into ruine, the lyues of ſo many of your cuntrymen? What is hee that eyther can, or dooth deſire to liue after you? We are come ſo farre foorth following your fortune and authoritie, that without you none of vs is able to return home againe. If ye were yet contending with Darius for the kingdome of Perſia, though wee all would wiſh that you would not aduenture your perſon ſo perilouſly, yet in that caſe wee could not maruaile ſo much at your prompt audacitie: For where the daunger and the benefite that enſueth thereof is equall, there the fruit is the greater, when the matter ſucceedeth well: and the comfort is the more, when the thing chanceth euill. There is no man, not onely of vs that be your ſouldiors, but euen of ſuch as were your enemies, hauing any vnderſtanding of your greatneſſe, that can ſuffer ſo baſe a Towne, and of ſo little fame, be bought with the price of your lyfe. My heart ſhrinkes at the remembraunce of the thing, which wee but late did ſee with our eyes. I am amazed to rehearſe howe thoſe vile handes were in a readines to haue caryed the ſpoyles of your inuincible perſon, if Fortune of her mercy had not preſerued and deliuered you from their crueltie.

So many of vs as were not able to followe you, were all traytours and forſakers of our Prynce. And though it were a matter that lay not in our power, yet if it pleaſe you to note vs all with reproach,

proach, there is none that will refuse any punishment in the purgation of the matter. Notwithstanding wee would require you that you would spare vs for some other purpose. Wee will gladly go whither soeuer you will haue vs: wee require war be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battaile though our fighting shall want fame, so that you will reserue your selfe to those hasards, which be meet for the greatnesse of your estate. How soone doth glory v nish away and become of no prayse, amongst such enemies as bee of no reputation? And what thing is there more vnworthy then to consume the glory you haue gotten elsewhere, amongst them wheras your glory cannot appeare?

When Craterus had told his tale, Ptholome and the other spake to him in like effecte: and required him all at once with weepyng eyes, that he would not from thenceforth bee any more so thirsty to win praise, but seing he had got sufficient already, he should content himselfe therewithall and regard his health and safegard. whereupon theyr vniuersall estate did depend. The King tooke so gratefully their louing affection, that he familiarly imbraced euery one of them, and after he had willed them to sit repeating more deply their former communication, he sayde thus vnto them.

My faithfull louing friends and countrymen, I giue and render to you my harty thanks, not onely for that yee preferre my safegard before your owne, but also for that since the beginning of the warres

warres ye haue not pretermitted any thing, wher in your loue & beneuolence might be shewed towards me: so that I must confesse that my life was neuer so deare as it is nowe, because I desire long to enioy you. You be desirous to offer your selues to death in my quarrell, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your hands. But your imagination and mine is not after one sort. You peraduenture doe couet continually to enioy me, and to take of me continuall fruit. And I measure not my selfe by the continuance of my time, but by the greatnes of my glory. I might haue bene content with the riches my father left me, and with rest of my body haue looked for with the bounds of Macedon, an age obscure & without any fame. And yet I cannot see that they that liue in slouth & idlenes, can assure themselues of their owne desteny. For euen such as esteeme felicitie in long life, bee oftentimes preuented with sodaine death. But I which number not my yeres, but my victories, haue liued long, if I wil wey the gifts of fortune. For beginning mine Empire in Macedonia, I haue Greece in mine owne hands: I haue subdued Thrace & the Illirians: I reigned ouer the Tribals & the Medians, possessing all Asia that lyeth betwixt Hellespont and the red sea, and now am not farre from the end of the world, the which I determined to visit, and to make open to men a new nature, and a new worlde. I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and beeing but xxviii. yeares olde, and hauing raigned but nine, am become victourer of both Regions. Doe you thinke it then meete that I should nowe cease from winning of that glorie, whereunto I haue onely addict my selfe? No, I wil neuer cease: but whersoeuer I shall haue occasi-

on to fight, I shall thinke my selfe to bee in the Theater, where the whole worlde doth beholde mee, I wil giue nobility and fame to places which bee obscure: and will laye open to all Nations, those countries that nature hath remooued furtheſt from them: In dooing whereof it shall bee gratefull for me to end my life, if fortune wil haue it so. I am come of such a stock, that I ought to desire many things before long life. I pray you to remember that we come into these cuntreys where the name of a woman is much celebrated for her vertues. What cities did Semiramis build? What nations did shee subdue? And what great workes did she accomplish? Wee are not yet become equall vnto a woman in glory, and yet you would haue mee to be satisfied of laud. The Goddes bee fauourable vnto our purpose. for there remaines for vs yet greater things to do. And it is the next way to make those countryes which we haue not yet touched, to become ours, if wee esteeme nothing to bee of small valure, whereas there is any occasion to winne glory. Let it bee your care onely to preserue mee from ciuil conspiracie and treason of mine owne people, and then there bee no aduentures in the warre shall put me in feare. Philip was more sure in the front of the battaile abroad, then when hee was in quyet at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies: but he could not eschue the violence of his own subiects. And if you consider the end of other kings you shall count more that haue beene slayne by their owne men, than by any forrayne power. But because there is an occasion nowe offered mee to vtter the thing I haue long conceiued in my mind it shall bee the greateſt fruit I can receyue of my actes and my trauailes: if my mother Olimpias,

when

when she departeth this life, might be consecrated to immortalitie. If shee depart in my time, I will do the thing my selfe. But if I shall bee preuented by death, remember you to perfourme that I haue determined.

And therupon he dimissed his friends from him, and continued many daies in the same place. Whilest these things were a dooing in India, the Greeke souldiors that had land & habitation appointed them at *Catabactra*, through sedition that chanced amongst them, rebelled against him: not so much for any hatred they bare him, as for feare of punishmẽt. For they killed diuers of their chiefe rulers: and assembling in force together tooke the castle of Bactria, that was negligently kept, & procured the Bactrians to rebell with them. Athenodorus was the chiefe among them, who took vpon him the name of a king, not so much for the desire of the kingdome, as by authoritie to make himselfe of power to conuey himselfe and others home into his country. But one Bicon of his owne nation became his enemy, and conspiring against him did bid him to a banquet, where he was slaine by one Boxus Macerianus.

The next day following Bicon assembled the Greeks together, perswading them that he slew Athenodorus but in his own defẽce whose purpose was to haue destroyed hym.

But

But there was some that perceiued his policy: and suspition was spred amongst the rest: So that the Greeks fell to armes of purpose to slay Bicon. But such as were chiefe, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation was deliuered frō that present perill. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against thē that saued his life, whose falshood known, they tooke both him and Boxus, determining that Boxus should bee put vnto death out of hand, and that Bicon should end his lyfe by torments. As they were tormenting of him, the Greeke souldiors sodainly in a fury, for what cause it is vncertaine, ranne to armes, the noyse of whom being heard with them that had the charge of Bicon did let him at liberty, fearing that the rumor had beene made for his deliuery. He as he was naked came running amongst the Greeks wheras they were assembled: whose miserable estate sodainly so chaunged their mindes, that they willed him immediatly to be set at liberty: by this meanes Bicon being twise deliuered from death, returned into his cuntery with the Greeks, leauing the colony whereunto he was appointed by Alexander. These things were done in the confines of Bactria and Scithia. In the meane season the king of the two nations

which

which we spake of before, sent an hundred embassadors vnto Alexander, which being men of personages, rid in wagons seemly apparelled, hauing garments of linnen cloth imbrodred with gold, and impaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their cõming was to yeeld themselues, their Cittie, their cuntry, and their liberty (which they had kept inuiolatly by so many ages) to his will & appointment. Of which their submission the Gods (they saide) were authors, and not anie feare: for they were contented to yeeld themselues before they had prooued their power with him. The king called a councell, and receiued them vnder his protection, appointing to them to pay such tribute as they before did pay to the Arachosians. And besides to sende two thousand fiue hundred horsmen to serue him in his wars: all which thinges they performed obediently. This don he made a great feast, whereunto he inuited those Embassadors and his Lords. He vsed therin sumptuous preparation, ordaining an hundred beds of gold to eate vpon: which being set a small distance one from another, were drawn about with curtaines garnished with gold and purple. In that feast there was shewed and sette forth all the great excesse and voluptuousnes which either by long custome was vsed amongst

amongst the Persians, or by corruption of their old vsages taken vp amongst the Macedons: the vices of both those nations beeing there mingled and mixed togither. There was at that feast one Dioxippus of Athens, a notable champion, by reason of his excellent force well knowne vnto the king, whom certaine enuious and malitious persons, betwixt earnest and pastime did reproue, that he was giuen for to fatte his body as an vnprofitable beast: And when that other went to the battaile, he would annoint his body with oyle, & prepare himselfe to eate. Amongst other that vsed words of despite against him, there was at the same feast one Horratas a Macedon, who in his dronkennes challenged Dioxippus, that if he were a man, he should fight the campe with him the next day vppon lyfe and death, whereas the king should iudge eyther him to bee rash, or the other too much a dastard. Dioxippus then laughing to skorn the pride and arrogancie of the souldiour, accepted his proffer. The next day they were more earnest to go vnto the combat than they were before in making of ỹ chalenge: therfore whē the king saw them so bent, & that they would not leaue their purpose, he consented to theyr will. There were great numbers of men assembled at the combat, amongst whom there

were

were many Grecians which fauored Dioxippus part. The Macedon came into ỹ lystes armed at all peeces, holding in his left hande an Iron buckler and a spear, and in his right hand a casting launce, and hauing his sworde besides gyrte to his side, was furnished as though hee shoulde haue fought with manie men at once. Dioxippus came forth, annoynted with oyle, with a garland vppon his head, and hauing a red cloth wrapt about his left arme, held in his right hand a great knotty cudgell. The diuersitie of theyr furnishments brought euery man into a wonderfull expectation. For they could not think it onlie a rashnesse, but a madnesse for Dioxippus that was naked, to match with the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill his aduersary before they shoulde come to handy stripes, threwe at him hys Launce, which Dioxippus auoyded by bending of his bodie, and before that hee could charge his pyke hee leaped to him, and with his cudgell brake the same asunder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, hee beganne to drawe his sworde: but Dioxippus preuented him with a cloake, and taking both his feet from vnder him, threw him vnto the earth, and there plucking his sword from him set his foote vppon his necke, and held

vp his cudgel to haue striken out his braines if the king had not caused him to stay his hand. This triumph ended with displeasure both vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander himself: specially because this thing was don in the Indians presence: fearing least the valiantnes of the Macedons, famed so much in the world, might therby come into contempt. Hereuppon Alexander grudging at Dioxippus, bare his eares open to the accusation of the enuious. They within a few dayes after had caused a golden cup purposely to bee conueyed out of the way: which the ministers hauing imbezeled, made complaint vnto Alexander of the losse therof. Oft times men shew lesse constancy in countenance, than in the offence it self. For in their complaint Dioxippus perceiued by their looks, that they noted him as the thiefe, which he could not indure, but parting out of the feast (after hee had written a letter to the king) he killed himselfe. Alexander was very sory for his death which he took for no token of repentance, but rather of indignation. For afterwards it appeared through the ouer much reioicing of his enemies, that he had bene falsly accused. The Embassadors of the Indians that were dimissed home, within a few dayes after returned againe, presenting vnto Alexander

three

three hundred horses, a thousand and thirty wagons, euery one drawn with foure horses, certaine vesture of linnen cloth, a thousand Indian targets, and one hundred talents of Iron, both Lyons of a rare bignesse, and Tigers that were made tame, the skins of great Lyzards, and the shels of certain fishes. The king then commaunded Craterus to conduct his army along the Riuer: wherupon he sayled, and he imbarking such as were woont to accompany him, with the streame passed into the bounds of the Mallians, and from thence came vnto the Sabracans, which was a nation of great power, not ruled by kinges, but by a gouernement of the people. They had gathered together six thousand footmen, and six thousand horsmen, & fiue hundred armed wagons, and had chosen three Capitains that were approued men of war. But when such as inhabited next vnto the Riuer (the bankes being ful of villages) saw all the Riuer so far as they could view, ouerspread with ships, & the armor glistering of so many men of war, they were amazed with the strangenes of the sight, and thought that some army of ỹ Gods or els Bacchus (whose name was famous amongst those Nations) had beene come amongst them. The cry of the men of warre, with the clashing of the oares, and the strange

noyse

noise of the marriners exhorting one another, filled full their fearful eares. They ran therefore amongst their country men which had assembled their force, declaring their madnesse if they would contend with Gods. For they sayd the ships could not be numbred that caryed those inuincible people: With which wordes they put such feare amongst the men of war of their owne Nation, that they sent immediatly Embassadors to yeeld thẽselues. When he had receiued their submission, hee came the fourth day into another country, the people whereof durst no more withstand him than the rest did: and there he builded a Citie which hee named *Alexandria*: and from thence entred into a country, the inhabitours whereof they called Musicans. There he vnderstood by the accusation of the Paromisidans, that Desterioles (whome Alexander had appointed Lieuetenant amongst them) had ruled in excessiue pride and couetousnes, and therefore commaunded him to bee put to death. And Oxiatres Lieuetenaunt of the Bactrians being also accused, was not onely acquited, but also had a greater rule committed vnto him. When he had subdued the vttermost part of the Musicans, he put a garrison in their Cittie, and went from thence to another Nation of the Indians called Prestians,

of

of whom Oxicanus was king, which with a great power got himselfe into a strong Cittie, which Alexander wan the third day after he began his siege. Vppon the taking of the towne, Oxicanus fled into the castle, & sent Embassadors to treat of peace. But before they wer come to Alexanders presence, two towers of the castle fel with a great crash, by the ruines wherof the Macedons got into the castle, where Oxicanus which with a fewe standing at defence, was slaine, the castle being rased, & al that wer within sold as slaues. Alexander came into the bounds of Saba, wher beside many holds that yeelded to him, he tooke ꝑ strongest cittie of that country by force of a mine. It seemed a monstrous thing to the Indians (being ignorant of such pollicies of war) for armed men to come forth of ꝑ ground in the midst of their citie, whereas ther appeared no signe of any way vnder ꝑ earth. Clitarchus doth write, that there were 80. thousand Indians slayne in that countrey, besides manie prysoners solde as slaues. The Musicans in the meane tyme rebelled, for the oppression of whome Phyton was sent thyther: who tooke the Prince of the Nation prysoner, and brought him vnto Alexander, whome hee caused to be hanged vppon a crosse, as the author of the reuolt, which done,

retur-

returned againe to the Riuer wheras he had willed his Nauy to tarry for him. The fourth day after passing down the streame, he came to a Towne at the entry of the kingdome of *Samus*: the King wherof had newly yeelded himselfe, but the citizens had shut their gates and would not be at commaundement: whose small number Alexander regarded so little, that he sent fiue hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proffer the skirmish, to the intent by retiring little and litle, they might draw them out of their strength, thinking they would follow the chase, when they should see their enemies flying. The Agrians did as it was appointed them: for when they had once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backs, & the Indians pursued them, till they came to the ambushment where the king lay. Then ỹ Agrians turned, and the fight was renued againe, so that of three thousand Indians ther were fiue hundred slaine, and a thousand taken, the rest recouered againe the Citie. But the end of the victory was not so pleasant as it was in the beginning: for the Indians had so enuenomed their swordes, that such as were hurt, died of their wounds. And the phisitiõs could not deuise the cause of so strange a death: for euen the very light hurtes were vncurable. The Indians trusted that Alex-

ander

ander through his rashnes might haue come within that danger, which by chance fighting amongst the thickest, escaped vnhurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpon his lefte shoulder: who being in a greater danger, than the greatnes of his wound shewed, causes the king to be carefull of him. For he was neare of his kinne, & as some thought Philip was his father: but it is certaine that his mother was Philip his concubine. Hee was one of them that had the charge of the kings person, a valiant man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. Hee was moderate both in his apparel and liuing: liberall, easie to be spoken to, and without any such height of mind, as is wont to be in men descended of bloud royal: by reason of which qualities, it is vncertaine whether he was better beloued with the king, or with the rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to proue how the minds of men were affectionat towards him: for euen in that daunger the Macedons began to deuine of his fortune, whereunto afterwards he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptholomeus, than of the king himself: who vsed him so familiarly, that when he was wearied either with trauel or care of mind, would sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: & at that time caused his bed to be brought into his own

chamber. When Ptholomeus was laid ther he fel sodainly in a sound sleepe, in the which it seemed that a dragon offred to him an herb out of his mouth, for the healing of his woũd, and taking away of the venime. When he awaked, hee declared his dreame, and shewed both the colour and fashion of the herbe, affirming that he could know it, if any man could find it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the wound, the paine straight ways ceased, & the skar within short place was closed. When the Indians were disappointed of the hope they had conceiued that way, they pelded themselues and their citie. From thence Alexander went into the nexte country called Pathalia, the king whereof called Meris left the citie, vnd fled into the mountaines: so that Alexandet tooke the same, & destroyed al the country, finding both a woonderfull pray of sheepe, of cattel, and of corne. There he tooke Pilats that knew the Riuer, & came vnto an Iland which stood in the midst of the stream, where he was compelled to remaine the longer, because the Pilates beeing negligently kept, were escaped away. He sent therfore to seeke out other, but when he could finde none, there entered a vehement desire into his head to visit without any guide the Ocean sea, and

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the ende of the world, committing his owne life, and the liues of so many thousandes, to a Riuer which none of them did know. They sayled as men ignorant of all places they came vnto: eyther how far the Sea was distant from them, what nations did inhabit the countreys thereabout, or whether the mouth of the Ryuer were nauigable for Gallyes or no. In all these thinges they were lead by a blind and doubtful imagination, hauing no other comfort in their rash enterprise, but onely that they trusted to their continuall felicitie. When they had gone forwards four hundred furlongs, the shipmaisters told the king that they felte the aire of the Sea: whereby they knew that the Ocean was at hand. Ther at he reioiced greatly, and exhorted the mariners, that they would in all that they might, make way with their oares to bring him to the sight of the end of the world, which he had so long desired.

Now (quod hee) our glory is perfite, when our manhood is such that nothing can stay vs: Nowe the world is come into our hands without any further hazard of warre or shedding of bloud. Nowe since the bounds that nature hath wrought bee so neare at hand, we shall shortly see thinges vnknowne sauing to the immortall Gods.

Yet notwithstanding hee set certaine vpon land to take some of the countrymen, be whom

he trusted to haue knowne more certaintie of the truth. When they searched out their cottages, at length they found out certaine that were hidden: which being demanded how far the Sea was from them, they made answere, that they neuer heard it named, but they saide that within three dayes sayling they shoulde come vnto a place, whereas a brackish water did corrupt the fresh: By which words ỹ mariners vnderstood that they meant the sea, of the nature wherof the people were ignorant. Then the marriners rowed chearfully, their desire growing euer the greater, as they approched neare vnto the place which they hoped to be the end of their trauaile. The third day they came where the sea & the riuer ioyned together mixing with a small floud their waters that were of a contrary nature. Then because the tide was somwhat against them, they haled towardes another Iland standing in the midst of the riuer, which being an easie place to land at, the Macedons ran about to seeke victuals, in sureti (as they thought) being ignorant of the chaunce that came vpon them. The third hower according to the ordinary course, the tide came from the sea, and with his force did driue the streame backeward, which at the first being but stayed, was afterwards so vehemently repulsed, that it

cauſed the water to returne backeward with greater fury than a ſwifte ſtreame is wont to run. The common ſort that knew not the nature of the Ocean, thought the ſame to bee a wonderfull matter, and that it had beene a token ſent to them for the Gods wrath: & whyleſt they were in that imagination, the Sea ſwelling more and more, ouer flowed the land which they ſawe before drie: and as the water roſe, the ſhippes mounted, and all the nauy was diſperckled heere and there. Such as were vpon land were amazed with the ſodennes of the thing, & ran from al partes in great feare vnto theyr ſhips. But in a tumult haſte doth hurt, & giueth impediment. Some there were that went about to ſet theyr ſhips forwards: other for bad rowing & remooued not at al. Otherwhiles they made haſt away, and would not tary to take in theyr company, moued vnaptly, & could make no way. Some, when they ſaw them preſſe a ſhipbord in ſuch throngs, for feare of taking in to many, would receiue none at all: ſo that both multitude & ſmall number was a lette vnto the haſt they made. The cry that ſom made in bidding men tarie, and the noyſe that other made willyng them to go forwards, with theyr voyces that differed, and agreed not in one effect, tooke away the vſe of both theyr ſight and hearing.

The marriners could not helpe the matter, whose words in ỹ tumult could not be heard, nor theyr commandements obserued among men feare and out of order. The ships therefore dashed one against an other, the oars crashed asunder, and euery ship either thrust forwards, or put backe another. No man would haue iudged it to bee one Nauy, but rather two sundry fighting a battaile together vpon the Sea. The prores did strike against the puppes: such as went before troubled them that came after, and the words of men in their wrath came vnto stripes. By that time the flood had ouerflowne all the plaines thereabouts, so that nothing appeared aboue ỹ water sauing the hilles, which seemed little Ilands, whereunto many did swim, & left theyr shippes for feare. Whilest the Nauy thus dispersed abroad, partly stood a floate, when they happened in any valley, and partly sticked vppon the ground, if they did vppon the flattes, according to the ground which was ouerflowne: sodainly there came another terrour greater than the first. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted course, with so great violence, as it came forwards and restored the sight of the lande, which before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The shippes then forsaken of the

water

ter fell vpon theyr sides, and the fieldes were strowen with broken boords, and with peeces of Dares. The souldiors durst not go forth to land, and yet were in doubt to tarry a shippe-bord, looking euer for some greater mischiefe to come, then that they sawe present or past. They could scarcely beleeue that they sawe and suffered, which was shipwracke vpon the land, and the sea within a riuer. And thought no end could come of this mischiefe: for they knew not that the flood should shortly return agayne, and set theyr ships afloat. And therefore they imagined to themselues famine and all extremities. The monsters also of the Sea, which after the water was past, were left on drie land, put them in great fear. The night approached, and despayre brought the king into a great agony. Yet no care could so ouercome his heart that was inuincible, but that hee watched all night, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the Ryuer, to bring him word when the tyde came. Hee caused two shippes that were broken to bee amended, and suche as were ouer-whelmed, to bee hoysed vp agayne, warning all men to lye in wayte and bee in readinesse agaynst the water should arise. When hee had consumed all that night in wathing, and giuing exhortation vnto his menne, straightwayes the horsemen retourned

ned a mayne gallop, and the flood followed them: which mildly increasing, began to raise againe their ships, and when it had once ouer flowne the banks, the whole nauy beganne to moue. Then all the coast rebounded with the vnmeasurable reioicing that the Souldiours and mariners made for their safegard, whereof they were before in despayre. When they saw the danger past, they enquyred with wonder one of another, by what reason the Sea could so soone after that manner ebbe & flow, and debated the nature of that element, which one while disagreed, and another while was obedient and subiect to the tyme. The King coniecturing by the signs he had seene before, that after the Sunne rysing the tyde would serue his purpose to preuent the matter, at midnight with a few skippes he fleeted down the streame, and passing out at the mouth of the Ryuer, entered foure hundred furlonges into the Sea, where attayning the thing that hee desyred, made sacrifice to the Goddes of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countryes, and returned againe vnto his nauie. From thence the next day hee returned backwardes against the streame, and arryued at a salt lake, the nature whereof being vnknowne, deceyued many that rashly entered into the water: for their bodies by and

by

by became full of scabs, which disease taken by some, the contagion therof infected many other. But they found that oyle was a remedie for the same. Alexander lying still with his armie, waiting for the spring time of the yeare, sent Leonatus before by the land way where he thought to passe, for to dig wels, because the country was very dry and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many cities, and commanded Nearchus and Onisicritus (that were most expert of naual things) with his strongest ships to passe into into the Ocean, and to go so far forwards as they might with suretie, for to vnderstand the nature of the Sea: and willed them at their returne to land eyther within that Riuer, or els within Euphrates. When the winter was well passed, he burned those ships which hee occupied not, and conueied his army by land. After ix. encampings, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, & from thence in nine dayes came amongst the Gedrosians: which being a free nation, by a general counsaile had amongst them, yelded themselues: of whome there was not any thing demaunded, sauing onely victuals. The v. day he came into a riuer which the country men call Barabon, beyond the which there lay a barraine countrey greatly destitute of water, through the which

he

he passed, and entred amongst the Horitans. There he betooke the greater part of his army to Ephestion, and parted his souldiours that were lyght armed with Ptholomeus and Leonatus, & so wasted the countrey with 3 armies at once, & took great praies. Ptholomeus burned towardes the Sea, Leonatus on the other hand, and Alexander himself in the middest. In that countrey he builded also a citie, and brought men out of Arrachosia to inhabite it. From thence he came amongst the Indians, which lying vpon the Sea coast do inhabite a great countrey, that is waste & desert. They vse no traffike, entercourse, nor conuersation with any of their neighbours: but the desertnesse of their countrey made them sauage, being wylde of their owne nature. They ware long nayles, which they neuer cut, and long haire, that was neuer clypped. They made their houses of the shelles of Fishes, and of other things that the sea cast vp: and being clad with the skins of wylde beasts, eate fish dryed with the sunne, and fed vppon such monstrous Fishes as the Sea cast vpon the land. Here the Macedons consumed their victuals, and first endured scarcitie, and afterwardes extreame hunger, searching out in euery place the rootes of the Palmes which is the only tree that groweth

in

in that countrey. But when that kind of nourishment fayled them, they killed their cariage beasts, and abstained not from their horses: whereby lacking beasts to beare theyr baggage they were inforced to consume with fire the spoyles of their enemies, which had caused them to trauaile into the vttermost boundes of the Orient. After their famine followed a pestilence; for the vnaccustomed nourishment of the vnwholsome meates they did eat, with the trauaile of their iourney, and the care of minde spread diseases amongst them, in such sorte that they could neither continue in a place, nor yet go forwards without great destruction. Hunger oppressed them when they taryed: and the pestilence was more vehement euer as they went forwards. The fieldes therefore were strawne full of men that were halfe dead, and half aliue. And such as were but smally sick, were not able to follow the armie: it marched with such speede: For euery man thought to further so much his owne safeguarde, as by making hast hee could get before his fellowes. Such as fainted and could not followe, desired both such as they knew and knewe not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beasts whereupon to set them: and the Souldiours could scarcelye beare theyr owne armoure, which

hau

had the inminent mischiefe that fell vpon other men, represented before theyr own eyes. Wherfore, when they were called vpon, they would not vouchsafe once to looke back: fear had so taken away all compassion from thē. Then they which were left behinde, cryed vpon the gods and theyr king for helpe, alledging that they were all of one religion, which was a band for one to releiue another. But when they had cryed long in vaine vnto their deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wishing the like ende to their friends & companions, that they themselues endured. The king troubled both with sorrowe and with shame, because he, and none els should be the cause of so great destruction of his men, did write to Prataphernes ruler of the Parthenians, to send to him vpon Camels, victuals in readinesse to be eaten, & certified the princes of the countries thereabout of his necessitie, which did not slacke the time, but made prouision according to his wyll. Thus his army deliuered only frō famine, was brought within the bounds of the Cedrosians: and for asmuch as the same was a countrey fertill of althings, he thought good to stay ther awhile with the rest to recouer againe his feeble soldiers. There he receiued letters from Leonatus, how hee had woon the victory of the

Hori-

horitans, which encountred him with viii. thousand footmen, & v. hundred horsmen: and was aduertised also from Craterus, how he had taken and put in hold Ozines & Zariaspes noble men of Perse, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the country, whereof he had the rule, vnto Siburtius, and afterwards went into Carmania. Aspastes was gouernor of that nation: who being suspected of innouation, whiles Alexander was in India, met him on his way: but he dissimuling his yre, entertayned him gently, and did to him his accustomed honour, tyll such time as he had better proofe of the matter, which was layd against him. When the princes of India had, according to his appointment, sent out of al countries vnder his empire, great plenty of horse & other beasts, both of cariage and of draught, he gaue cariage againe to all men that wanted, and restored their armour to the former bewtifulnes, and excellency. For they were come into a countrey ioyning vpon Perse, which both was abonndaunt of all things, and also quietly established vnder his subiectiō. He thought it then a time to counterfeit Bacchus in the glory and fame, which he got amongst those nations. Whether it were a triumph that

Bac-

Bacchus first instituted, or a pastime of him vsed in drunkennes. Alexander was determined to counterfeit his doinge, hauing his minde puffed vp aboue mans estate. He commanded therefore all the villages throughout the which he should passe, to be strowne with flowers and garlands, and wine to bee set foorth before euery mans doare, for all men that would drinke. He caused wagons also to be made of largenes, able to cary great numbers: & decking the same with precious furniments, the king wente formost with his frends, and next to them his guard, wearing vpon their heads garlands of flowers, some playing vpon fluits, and some vpon harpes: Euery one generally through the army decked his chariot, according to his abilitie and substance, whereas they giuen to banketting did hange their rich armour besides them. Alexander with such as he called to his company, was carted in a chariot laden with cups of gold, and other golden vessel: he with his drunken army, marched thus vii. dayes together in ostentation of the pray they had gotten: wherein they shewed such dissolutenes, that if one M. of the subdued people durst, during that time haue giuen them the onset, they might haue taken them prisoners, and led thē away in triumph. But fortune which

hath

hath appointed both fame and eſtimation to things, turned all this diſorder vnto his glorie. For both the age that was then, & the poſterity that came after, merueiled and toke it for a wonder, that hee durſt go ſo diſſolutely amongſt thoſe nations, not yet eſtabliſhed vnder his Empyre, the barbarous people reputing his rachenes, for an aſſured confidence. But ſhedding of bloud enſued after this triumph. For prince Aſpaſis (ſpoken of before) was commaunded to be put to death: ſo that his excelle in voluptuouſnes was no let vnto his crueltie, nor cruelty impediment to his voluptuouſneſſe.

## ¶ The tenth Booke of Quintus Curtius, *of the actes of Alexander the great, King of Macedon.*

About the ſame time, Cleander, Sitacles, Agathon, and Heracon, which by the Kinges appoyntement had put Parmenio to death, returned to him, lying

bringing with them v. M. footmen & a thousand horsmen. There were many accusers that followed them out of the prouince: whereof they had the gouernance: whose behauiour there was such, that the acceptable seruice they had don to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, could be no satisfaction for the multitude of the offences they had committed. They vsed such an vniuersall spoyle, not absteyning from the temples, nor from sacred things. The virgins also & great ladies of the countrey, whom they had rauished, complained of them: lamenting the shame they had susteyned. They vsed such couetousnes and inordinate lust in their authoritie, that it caused the name of the Macedons to be hated amongst those nations. And yet amongst all the rest; Cleanders offence was most horrible, which rauishing a virgin of noble bloud, gaue her to his slaue to vse as his concubine. The more part of Alexanders frends were not so much offended with their cruelty and foule acts (whereof they were accused) as with the remembraunce of Parmenio hys death, which they kept in silence, least the rehearsall ther of might haue procured them fauour with the king: reioysing that the kings wrath was fallen vpon the ministers of hys yre, and that no power nor authority gotten

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by euill meanes, could haue any long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, sayd that the accusers ouerslipt the greatest offence, which was the dispaire of his saueguarde. For if they had eyther hoaped or beleeued that he should euer haue returned out of India, they durst neuer (he said) haue committed any such offences. He commaunded them therfore to prison, and vi. hundred souldiers to death, that had bin the ministers of their crueltie: & they also were executed the same day, which Craterus had brought as authors of the rebellion out of Persie. Within a while after Nearchus & Onesicritus, which had beene commanded by the king to search the Occean sea, returning vnto him, declaring some things by knowledge, & some by report: they shewed him of an Iland not far from the mouth of Indus, which abounded with golde, and had no breed of horses amongst them: wherefore the inhabitors wold giue a talent of gold for euery horse brought frō the maine land. They also tolde of great mōstrous fishes (wherof those seas were ful) which caried down with the tide, would shew their bodies aboue ỹ water, as big as a great ship, & folow their naup with a terrible noise. And when they diued vnderneath the water, they troubled the seas, as it had bin a ship-

wracke. These were thinges they had seen: the rest they had receiued, by report of thinhabitours: as howe that the rede sea tooke his name of king Erithrus, and not of the colour of the water. They shewede also of another Iland not far from the main lande growinge full of palm trees, where was a great wood, and in the midst therof stood apiller where as king Erithrus was buriede with inscription of such letters as he vsed in the countrey.

They added besides, that such mariners as caried the merchauntes, and the drudges of tharmye, through couetousnes of the golde whiche had beene reported vnto them, landed the Iland, and were neuer sene after. Their wordes moued Alexander much and put him in a great desire, too get more certaine knowledge of those parties and therefore he commaunded them againste to the Sea, willing that they should coast the land, til they came within the riuer of Euphrates & from thence to come vp to Babilon against the streame. The thinges were infinite that he compassed in his head, for hee determined after hee had brought the sea coast of the Orient vnder his subiection, to go out of Siria into Aphricke, for the enuy he bare to the Carthagens: He purposed frō thence to passe ouer the deserts of Numidia towards Gades, where he vn-

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derstood by the same, that *Hercules* had planted his pillars: and so directing his iourney through Spaine (the which the Greekes of the Riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer ꝑ Alpes, & so into Italy, till he should come to the coast where the next passage was vnto Cyprus. For this intent he gaue cõmandement to his officers in Mesopotamia, ꝑ they should cut downe timber in ꝑ mount Libanus, & cõuey ꝑ same to Caplagas a city in Siria. And there to make galleis of such greatnes, ꝑ euery one of them might be able to cary vii. oares vpon a bank, & from thence he willed them to be conueyed vnto Babilõ. He sent cõmandement to the kings of Cyprus, to furnish them of Iron, hemp, & sailes. Whiles these things were in doing, he receiued letters frõ Porus & Taxiles, signifieng ꝑ Abiazares was dead of a disease, and that Philip his lieutenant in those parts was slaine, & they put to death ꝑ were the doers thereof. Alex. in the place of Philip appointed Eudemon ꝑ was captaine of the Thracians, and gaue Abiazares kingdom to his son. Frõ thence he came to Pasargades a cõtrey of the Persians, wherof Orsines was Lord: which in nobility & riches exceeded al other men in those parts, as one that fetch his pedigree frõ Cirus, ꝑ once was K. of *Perse*. The riches his predecessours left him

was great: and hee by a long continuance in his inheritance and authority, had much encreased the same. He met Alexander comming thetherwards, and presented both him and his friends with guifts of sundry sortes, which were a multitude of horses, ready to be ridden upon, chariots wrought with gold and siluer, precious stuffe, excellent pearles and precious stones, weighty vessels of gold, roabes of purple, and iiii. M. talents of coyned siluer: but that his liberalitie was occasion of his death. For when he had presented all the kings friends with gifts aboue their desire, he honoured not with any guifts at all Bagoas the Eunuch, whome Alexander specially fauored for the vsage he had of him. There were therfore that gaue him admonition how much Alexander esteemed Bagoas, but he aunswered them:

That his custome was to honor the kings frends and no harlots: nor that it was not the Persians manner to haue any in estimation, which did effeminate themselues with so shamful an abuse.

When his words were reported to the Eunuche, he vsed the power which he had gotē with dishonest meanes, to the destruction of ỹ noble & innocent mā: for he did suborne certain lewd persons of Orsines contry, to bring in false accusatiōs against him, which he willed them to present at such time as he should appoint

appoint vnto them. In the mean season when soeuer Bagoas got the K. alone, he would fill his credulous ears with tales against Orsines, euer dissembling ꝑ cause of his displesure, least thereby hee might lose the credit of his false report. The king had not Orsines yet in suspect of such matter as afterwardes was laid against him; but he began to growe with him out of estimation His accusation was euer so secret, ꝑ he could neuer get knowledge of the peril that was priuily wrought against him. That importunate harlot, in his vile cõuersation had with the king, was mindfull euer of the malice he bare to Orsines, whõ he would not cease to bring in suspition of couetousnes, or of rebellion, so oft as he saw Alex. bet to vse him familiarly'. By that time the false accusations were in readines, which he had prepared to the destruction of the innocent: whose fatall desteny that did approch could not be auoided. It chanced that Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cirus body was buried, to be opened, pretending to vse certain ceremonies for the dead: but thinking in very deed ꝑ his tombe had bin full of gold & siluer, whereof there was a constant fame amongst ꝑ Persians. But whẽ it was viewed there was nothing found, but a rottẽ target, two Scithian bowes, & a swoorde. Alexãder

cause the coffin wherin Cirus body was laid to be couered with the garment he accustomed to weare, and set therevpon a crowne of golde, marueiling ꝑ there was no more sumtuousnes vsed in burial of such a king, endued with so great riches, lying there but after the common sort of men. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas stood next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face and sayd:

What marueile is it though the sepulchres of kings be empty, when Lords houses be not able to receyue the goulde they haue taken out from thence? For my part I neuer sawe this tombe before: but I haue heard Darius report, that there were three thousand talents buried with Cirus. Thereof (quod he) proceeded Orsines liberalitie in winning your fauour by the guift of the thing, which he knew he could not keepe.

When he had thus kurred vp Alexanders wrath against Orsines, he presented thē, whō hee had suborned to accuse him: by whose report, & by Bagoas surmised tales, Alex. was so incensed against Orsines, that he was put put in prison, before he could suspect that hee was accused. The Eunuche was not contented with the destruction of this innocent man, but at his death laid violent hands vpon him: Vnto whom Orsines sayd: I haue heard that women in times past haue reigned, and borne great rule in Asia: but it now a more strange

thing,

thing, that a gelding should haue the Empire in his hands. This was the ende of the most noble man amongst the Persians, who was not only an innocent in this matter, but such one as bare singular affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same time Phyadates, which was suspected to haue gone about to make himselfe king, was put to death. Alexander began then to be much enclyned to the shedding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of euill report: prosperity is of such a force to change a mans nature, wherin few men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he which a little before would not condemne Lincestes Alexander, when hee was accused by two witnesses: that suffred diuers of more meane estate to be acquited, though it grudged his minde, because they seemed not guilty to other men: and he which bestowed kingdoms vpon his enemyes, whome he had subdued, was in the end so much altered from his former inclination, that against his owne appetite, at the will of an harlot, he would giue kingdoms to some, and take away the liues from other. About the same time hee receyued letters of things doone in Europe, whereby he vnderstood that whiles he was in India, Zopirius his lieutenant in Thrace, made a iourney

againſt the Getes, where by ſtormes & tempeſts that ſodainly roſe vpon him, he was deſtroied & all his armye. When Seutheſodriſas vnderſtood the defeate of that armye, he procured the Odriſians that were his countrymen to reuolt: ſo that all Thrace was in maner loſt therby, and Greece ſtood in no great ſuerty. The writers of the actes of great Alexander, make mentiõ in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was very famous in Philoſphy, which by the perſwaſion of King Taxiles followed Alexander, & ended his life after a ſtrang ſort: whẽ he had liued three ſcore and viii. yeares without any diſeaſe, at his cõming into Perſia, he felt a paine in his belly, wherby coniecturing that the end of his life was come, leaſt ſuch a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, ſhould be ſpotted with any lõg diſeaſe, or tormented with the multitude of medicines, which phiſitions vſe to miniſter required Alexander that he might cauſe a fire to be made, and to burne himſelfe in the ſame. The king began to diſwade him from his purpoſe thinking to haue brought him frõ the dooing of ſo horrible an act: but when he perceiued with what ſtedfaſtnes & conſtancy he ſtood in his intent, & that ther was no way to keep him any longer in life: he ſuffred a fier ſo be made accoording to his will: whereunto

Cala-

Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making first his prayer to the Gods of his countrey: and taking the Macedons by the hands, required them that they would spend that day pleasantly in banqueting with their king, whom within a while he should see at Babylon. When he had spoken those words, he went merely into the fire, whereas plying his body comly, kept still the same gesture and countenance at hys death, which he was wont to vse. When the fire flamed ỹ trumpets blew, the men of war making such a shout, as they accustomed going to the battaile, which rebounded vp to the skie, and the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These bee the thinges that sage writers doe testifie of Calanus; which was a notable example of an inuincible minde, constantly bent to suffer aduersitie. From thence Alexander went vnto *Susa*, whereas he took to wife and lawfully marryed Statira Darius eldest daughter: whose yonger sister called Dripetis, he gaue to wife vnto Ephestion: and bestowed to the number of fourscore Virgins of the noblest of all the Nations hee had conquered, to the principall Macedons & to the chiefest of his frends, because he would not seeme alone to begin so strange a custom. These marriages were celebrated after the Persian manner, and a princely feast prepared

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red at the espousals: whereat there were ix. M. guests, to euery one of whom Alexãdre gaue a drinking cup of gold. At the same time the rulers of the cities which Alexander had subdued and buylded, sent vnto him xxx. thousand yong souldiors that were all of one age, furnished with faire armour apt to do any enterprise of the war, which he called *Epigony:* that is to say his successors. The Macedons at their comming seemed to be somewhat appalled, which wearied with lõg war, vsed often in assemblies to murmur & speake mutinous words against the king. For that cause hee had prepared these souldiors to restrain the arrogancy of other, & gaue to them great benefits. *H*arpalus, to whome the king had committed the charge of the treasure, & reuenues at Babylon, hearing of the actes that Alexander had doone in subduing the more part of the kings of India, & his succes to be so prosperous, that nothing could withstand him: knowing the vnsatiable desire that was in Alexander to visit far countries, and to increase his glory, thought it shoulde bee a hard matter for him to returne to Babilon againe. Wherfore he gaue himselfe to delight and to lust, misusing many that were noble and free women, and wallowed in all kind of voluptuousnes: In so much that he sent vnto

Athens

Athens for a famous harlotte called Potonice, to whom he bothe gaue many great & princly giftes whiles she was aliue, and also after her deathe spent xxx. talentes vpon her tombe. Hauinge in these and suche other like voluptuous vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when he vnderstode Alexander to be come out of *Indea*, and to vse extreame iustice vpon his officers, that misused them, of whome they had rule (by reason he was priuy to his fowle conscience) he feared the like might come to him selfe. And therefore gatheringe together v. M. talentes. & vi. M. mercenary. soldiers, tooke the waye towardes *Athens*, no man willing to receiue him by the waye. When he came to *Tenaron* (wheras a great numbre of the mercenary Greekes, which had bene discharged out of *Asia* were assembled) he left his souldiers there, and went to Athens with his money: when he was came thether, great nomber of the citizens flocked about him, more for loue of his money, then for his owne sake: but specially ỹ Orators, & such as vsed to mak ther game by oracions, & perswading of ỹ people: whom by smal rewardes he easely corrupted to defend his cause wᵗ the people. But afterwardes at a generall assembly vpon the matter, he was commaunded to depart the citie,

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and so returned againe amongst the Greeke souldiors by whom he was slaine. Therefore with thirty ships they passed ouer to *Sunium*, which is a point of the land in the territory of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens hauen. These things being thus known, Alexander that was sore mooued as wel against the Athenians, as against Harpalus, prepared a nauy to make war in person immediatly against them. And as he was busied about the matter, he vnderstood by secret letters, how both Harpalus had beene in Athens, and corrupted with money the chiefe of the citie: and also how that afterwardes by a councell of the people, hee was commanded to depart from thence, who returning amongst the Greek souldiors, was slaine by one of them by treason. These news greatly reioiced Alexander, whereby he had occasion to leaue off his iourney into *Europe*: but he sent commandement to all the cities of Greece, that they should receiue all their banished men, except such onely as had committed any murther vppon their owne countrymen. Although the Greeks knew the same to be the breach of their liberties, and of their lawes, and the beginning of their bondage: yet as men þ durst not disobey his will, they called home their banished men, and restored

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to them such of theyr goods as did remayne. Only the Athenians which euer defended obstinatly the liberties of their commonwealth, and which had not beene accustomed to lyue vnder the obedience of any king, but vnder ꝑ lawes and customes of their country, would not agree, that such dregde of men shoulde liue amongst them, but did dryue them out of theyr bounds, ready to suffer any thing rather than to receiue such, as sometime were the raskall of all their citie, and then the refuse of all the outlawes. The time was come that Alexander minded to dismisse his olde souldiors and sent them into their cuntry: but he willed first 13000 footmen & 2000 horsmē to be chosen out to remaine still in Asia, which he iudged might be kept with a small army, because (he thoght) the garisons he had planted in many places, and the cities which hee had newly builded and filled with inhabiters, should be able to stay such as would attempt any rebellion. But before he would make any diuision of such as should depart and remain, he caused a proclamation to be made, that all souldiors should declare their debts (wherewith hee perceiued many of them sore burdened) and though it did rise through theyr owne discord and excesse, yet he was determined to discharge euery man. But the soldiors

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thinking it had been but a deuise, to trie out the prodigal from the rest, delayed the time, & brought not in their declarations. The king perceiued shame to be the let therof, & no disobedience or selfe will: And therefore caused tables to be set vp through his camp, & x. M. talents to be brought forth: Of al which treasure when their debts were payed, according to the iust declaration, there remained of talents no more but .cxxx. Whereby it appeared þ they which were þ conquerours of so many rich nations, brought out of Asia more glory then spoile. But after it was once knowen þ some should be dispatched, and some remaine still, they thought the kinge would haue established his kingdome perpetually in Asia. Wherefore licke mad men, and vnmindfull of al dicipline of warre, they filled the campe ful of seditious words, and came to the king more arrogantly, & with greater rigour, then euer they dyd before, all with one voice, requiring to be discharged, shewing forthe the hoarinesse of their heare, & their faces deformed wiht scars. And herein they could not be stayed, eyther by chastisemēt of their officers, or by anye reuerence of their king: but when hee woulde haue spoken vnto them, hee he would not suffer himto be hearde, but disturbed his tale with their tumultuous cry,

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and violent thronge: protesting openlye that would neuer moue one foote forwardes to any place, except it wer towardes their owne countrey. After a great space (because they thought that Alexander would incline to their purpose) they kept silence, & stode in expectation what he would do. Then Alexander spake vnto them:

What meaneth this sodaine trouble of minde, this so malipert, & vnlawfull libertye? I am afraid to speak vnto you: you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towardes me. I am nowe become a king at the appointment of my people: you haue neyther leste me the lybertye to knowe you, to exhorte you, nor to behould you. Being determyned to send some into theire countrey before, & to bring the rest with me shortly after: I see them aswell that shalbe nowe dispatched, crying and mutining, as those that I appoint to come with me. What a matter is this? Their crye is all alike. notwithstanding that their cause is diuers. I wold faine know whether they complaine that depart, or they that tary still?

When hee had spoken those wordes, theye cryed all (as it had been with one mouthe) ꝑ they complayned euery man. Then he sayed:

Truly it can not be so. nor I can not be perswaded that you should all bee greeued for the cause ye declare, seeing the case toucheth not the most part of you: for I haue appointed more to depart, then to remain still. Ther must nedes be some greater mischiefe then appeareth, that you should turne you all from me. When was it euer seene, that

that an whole army hath forſaken their king? The ſlaues run not from their maiſters all at once: but there is alwayes a ſhame in ſome to leaue them, whom the reſt forſakes. But why doe I forget that that you be mad in your minds? or why go I about to cure you that be vncurable? I condemne from henceforth all the good hope that euer I conceiued of you, and am determined to worke no more with you, as with my ſouldiors (ſeeing you wil not be mine) but with men vngratefull and vnmindful of my goodnes. The cauſe of this your madneſſe, is euen the abundance of your proſperitie, wherby you forget your olde eſtate, from the which ye be deliuered through my benefite. You are men worthy to haue ſpent your liues in your former beggery, ſeeing you can better beare aduerſitie, than proſperous fortune. Beholde, you which a while agoe were tributaries to the Illyrians and the Perſians, doe nowe diſdayne Aſia, and the ſpoyles of ſo many nations. You, which vnder Philip went halfe naked, now yee contemne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure any longer to behold the light of gold and ſiluer. You deſyre againe your wodden diſhes, your targets made of wickers, and your ſwords couered with ruſt: I receiued you in this ſimple eſtate, with fiue hundred talents in debt, whem all my furnimentes exceeded not in valure fortie talents. This was my foundation of my actes, wherewith (without enuie be it ſpoken) I haue ſubdued the greteſt part of the worlde. Are you weary of Aſia, which hath miniſtred vnto you occaſion of ſuch glory, that by the greatnes of your actes, ye be made equall vnto the Gods? doe you all make ſuch haſt into Europe, to forſake mee that am your king? The more parte of you ſhould haue lacked money to

bear

had not payed your debts. Are you not ashamed, that haue robbed all Asia, to beare the spoyles of so many nations within your bellies, and nowe to returne home to your wiues and children, vnto whom ther be but few of you that are able to shew any rewardes of your victorie? For many of you shalbe compelled to gage your armour, if yee forsake this good hope, ye might receue at my hand. These be the good men of warre that I shall want, which of all their riches haue nothing left them, but onely their concubines. The way lyeth open for your departure: get you hence quickly out of my sight. I with the Persiãs shal defend your backs when ye be gone. I will hold none of you: deliuer mine eyes ye vngratefull countrymen, of the sight I see of you. Shall your parents and children receiue you with ioy, when they shall see you return without your king? Shall they couet to meet such as be fugitiues, and forsakers of their prince? I truly shal triumphe vpon your departure: & whersoeuer you shall be, I shall desire to be renenged, honouring alwayes, and preferring before you, those which ye haue left here with mee. Now you shal know of what force an armie is that lacketh a king, and what moment doth consist in me alone.

When he had spoken those words, he leaped in a fury from the iudgement seat, and ran into the throng of the armed men: wheras he tooke with his owne hands such as had mutined most against him. Of whom there being none that durst make resistance, he deliuered iiii. to his guard for to be safely kept. Who would thinke that an assembly which a little before had spoken vnto their prince with such

fiercenes and rigour, could haue beene so sodainly appaled for feare? Which seeing they companions lead to execution, durst not moue nor make attempt. But the moderate liberty they vsed before, their seditious violence, was then so staied, that neuer one of them durst resist the king running amongst them, but were all astonied for feare, and stood like men amazed with doubtfull imaginations, looking what hee would determine of the offendors. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to his name, because the nations that liue vnder Kings, are wont to honour them as Gods: or were it the maiestie of his person, or else his owne assured constancie, executing his authoritie with such violence, that put them in fear: they shewed a notable ensample of patience. For they remained not onely without stur or motion at the execution of their companions, whom they knew to be put to death in ye night time, but also wer more diligent in doing their duties than euer they were before. pretermitting nothing pertaining to obedience, and naturall affection towards their prince. For the next day when they came to the court, & were not suffred to enter, but al shut out sauing the souldiors of Asia, they made a sorrowful cry & lamentation which spred ouer all the campe, protesting that they would not liue, if the king con-

continued still in his wrath. But he that was obstinate in all things that he had once conceiued in his head, commanded al the Macedons to keepe still their campe, and assembled the souldiors strangers together, to whom by an interpretor he made this Oration,

At such time as I came first out of Europe into Asia, my trust was to bring many noble Nations and great power of men, vnder myne Empire and dominion: wherein I was not deceyued. For besides that the fame reported you to be men of valure, I haue found in you one thing more: which is an incomparable obedience, fidelitie, and affection towards your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had ouerthowne all vertue amongst you, and that through your great felicity ye had bin drowned in pleasures. But I find it otherwise, and perceiue that none obserue the discipline and order of the wars, better than you doe, nor execute the same with more actiuitie nor stoutnes: and being manfull and valiant men, yee imbrace fidelitie no lesse than you do the rest. This thiug I do but now acknowledge, but I knew it long agoe: which was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of your Nations, to bee my souldiors, and did incorporate you amongst mine owne people, causing you to weare the same habite, and the same armour: But your obedience and patience towardes the authority, appeareth much better in you then in them. Therfore I haue ioyned to my self in mariage, the daughter of Oxatres that is a Persian: not disdaining to beget children vpon a captiue. And afterwardes desiring more aboundantly to increase the issue of my body, I tooke to wife the daughter of Darius, and was the author that my

neare friends likewise should beget children vpon captiues: minding by this holy couenant to exclude the difference betweene the victorors and the vanquished. Wherefore you must now thinke that you be not souldiours vnto me adopted, but more naturall: & that Asia & Europe is one kingdom without any difference. I haue giuen to you armour after the maner of the Macedons. I haue brought all strangenes & nouelty into a custome: and now ye be both my countreymen and my souldiours, all things receiuing one forme and fashion. I haue not thought it vnseemly for the Persians, to shadowe the customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfaite the Persians: seeing they ought to be vnder one lawe and custome, that should liue vnder one king.

When hee had made this oration, he committed the custodye of his person vnto the Persians: he made them of his guard and his officers of iustice. By whom when the Macedons, which had giuen occasion of this sedicion were led bound vnto execution, one of them that was more auncient and of greater estimation then the rest, spake after this maner.

Howe long will you thus giue place vnto your will, in executing vs after the strangers manner? Your souldiours and countreymen be drawne to execution by theyr owne prisoners, before theyr causes is heard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at least waye change the ministers of your wrath.

This was a good admonishment if he had beene

tene pacient to heare the truthe; But his wrath was growne into a woodnes: so that when he saw them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a little at the matter, he caused the prisoners to bee tumbled into the riuer, & there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelrie of this punishment, the souldiers were not sturred to any sedition, but repaired by rowts vnto their captaines, and vnto such as were neere about the king: requiring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he should command them to be put to death, proffering their bodyes to be punished and executed at his owne will: After it was knowne that the lieutenant his shippes were giuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names giuen vnto them as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiected with reproch, they could not then any longer conteine themselues, nor suffer the dolour they had conceyued in their hearts, but with a great throng pressed to the court, wearing only their nethermost garments, and leauing their weapons without the gate in token of repentance. There with weeping, and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to the kings presence, & that he would vouchsafe to paroon their offence: pacifying

his wrathe with the death of so many as hee should think good, rather then to suffer them to liue in such reproch: which except he would releas, they protested they would neuer depart out of the place. Whē those things were declared vnto Alexander, hee caused ꝑ court gates to be opened, and came foorth amongst them: wheras beholding their lamentation & repentance, their miserable behauiour and affliction, hee could not abstaine to weepe long time with them: & in consideratiō of their modestie, forgaue them their former offences: & after he had temperatly told them their faults & again comforted them with gentle words, he discharged many from the seruice of the wars, and sent them home liberally rewarded writing to Antipater his Lieutenant in Macedon, that hee should assigne them the chiefe places in the theaters, at triumphs, and open plaies, wheras they should sit with garlandes on their heads: willing that their children after their deths, should enioy their fathers wages. He appointed Craterus for their ruler, to whom in the place of Antipater he had cōmitted the gouernment of Macedon, Thessaly & Thrace: sending for Antipater to repair vnto him with a supply of yong souldiors. Alexander had receiued letters before both frō him, & Olympias his mother: wherby dissen-

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ion appered to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make himselfe king. And Antipater did write how Olympias did many things otherwise than did become her. Antipater did take his calling away so greeuously in his heart, that he conspired therupon to poison Alexander: who hauing accomplished the matters ỹ before he mentioned, went to *Echatan* (being in *Media*) to set order in the necessary affairs of his Empire, and there ordained solemn triumphes and feasting. It chaunced Ephestion whome the king specially loued, and vsed in place of a brother, to die the same time of a feuer: Whose death Alexander tooke more sorrowfully, than may well be credited, committing in his dolor many thinges that were vnseeming for the maiestie of a Prince. Hee commanded Ephestions Phisition to be hanged, as though he had dyed through his negligence. Hee lay imbracing of the dead body, and could hardly be taken away by his frends but continued his sorrow night and day.

There bee many other thinges written in that behalfe, which be scarcely credible. But it is certayne that hee commaunded sacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his buryall and in making of his tombe, aboue twelue thousand talentes. As

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he was returning to Babilon, the Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him that he should not enter into the Cittie, for that it was signified, that if he went thither at that time, he should be in great perryll of his life. Notwithstanding he regarded not theyr admonishments, but went forwards in hys iourney, according as he appoynted. For he vnderstood that Embassadours were come thether from all regions, tarying for his comming. The terrour of his name was so spred through the world, that all nations shewed an obsequiousnes towards him, as though he had bin appointed to be their king. That caused him to make haste to Babilon, to keepe there as it were a parliament of the whole world. When he was come thither, he receyued the Embassadors gently, and afterwards dispatched them home againe. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, whervnto the king being bidden, came thither with such as were appointed to keepe him company: But he had not so soone dronke of Hercules cup, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had bin striken to the heart. And being caried out of the feast halfe dead, was so tormented with paine, that he required a sword to haue killed himselfe. His friends did publish abroade, monkenues

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to be the cause of his disease: but in very deed it was prepensed treason, the infamy wherof, the power of his successors did oppresse. The poison prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his son, which with his brethren Phillip and Iolla, were wonte to serue the King at meate: hee was warned that hee should not commit the same poyson to any person, except it were to Thessalus or to his brethren. Philip therefore and Iollas, which were woont to take the say of the kings cup, hauing the poison ready in cold water, myxed it with wine, after they had tasted it. When the fourth day was come, the souldiers partly for that they suspected hee had been dead, and partly because they could not endure to want long his sight, came sorrowfully vnto the court, desiring to see the King, which by his commaundement were admitted vnto his presence, by such as had the charge of his person. When they beheld him lying in that case, they made great sorow and lamentation: for he seemed not to them to be the same their King, whome they were wont to see, but rather a dead corps. If their grief were great the sorow of them that stood nert to the bed appeared much more, whome when Alexander beheld lamenting after that sort, he sayde vnto them:

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When I ſhall depart, you ſhall finde a king worthy for ſuch men as you be.

It is a thing incredible, how that during the time the ſouldiours of his whole armye came to viſit him, he neuer altered countenance nor geſture, but continued in that kinde of preſence, he gaue vnto the firſt, vnto the laſt mã. When hee had diſmiſſed the multitude, as though he had beene diſcharged of all debt of life, he laye downe againe to reſt his weake body: and his voyce beginning to faile him, commaunded his frends to come neere about him. Then taking his ring from his finger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therewith a commandement that his body ſhould bee conueyed to Hammon. They demanded to whom hee would leaue his kingdome. Hee ſayd: to the worthieſt. By which wordes it appeared that he foreſawe the contention that was like to enſue vpon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of him, when he would haue diuine honours doone vnto him? At ſuch time (quoth he) as you ſhall finde your ſelues in felicitie. Theſe were the laſt words Alexander ſpake, and ſhortly after he dyed. Immediatly after his death, the court was ful of howling, lamenting, and ſorow making: and by and by, as it had beene in a deſart or a place ſolitary, al things were whiſt, and a ſo-

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rowfull silence was spread ouer all, euery man being conuerted into imagination, what should become of the matter. The yong men of the nobility, that were accustomed about Alexanders persõ, could not bear the greatnes of their dolour, nor keep themselues within compasse of the court, but ran about as mẽ out of their wits: wherby the city was filled with heauines and complaint, and no kind of lamentation pretermitted, that sorrowe is woont to minister in such a case. Such therefore as were without the court, vnderstanding this matter, aswell Macedons as other, came running thether, whereas ỹ conquerors from the conquered, nor the victorers frõ the vanquished could not be discerned: the sorow was so indifferent to them all. The Persians called vpon their iust and merciful Lord, and the Macedons made inuocation to him that was so valiant and gracious a king: and thus there was a certaine contencion of sorow amongst thẽ. Men did not vse their only words of griefe & heauines, but also of grudge and indignation, that so yong a prince, being in the flower of his age, and of his fortunate succes should by the enuy of the goddes, be so taken out of this world. They called to remẽbrance what a cheerefulnes they had alwayes seene in his countenance, both when he led them to

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the battaile, whē he besieged or assaulted any citie, or when he would giue any commendation to the worthy in any assembly. Then the Macedons repented that euer they had denied him diuine honors: confessing themselues both wicked and vngratefull for depriuing him of any name, wherof he was worthy. And when they had continued long in the veneration & desire of him that was dead, then they began to pitty their owne case, whith comming out of Macedon, were past the riuer of Euphrates, amongst the midst of their enemies, that vnwillingly receiued their newe gouernment. They saw themselues left destitute, and the Empire without any certaine heire: for want of whome, euery one would go about to draw the power of the state vnto his priuate behooke. And then they began to conceiue and foresee in their mindes the ciuill warres that did ensue, and that they should be inforced to shed their bloud againe, not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of some such one that would go about to make himselfe King: whereby their olde scarres should breake out againe into new woundes. And moreouer that such as by reason of their age had beene discharged from the warres by their noble and righteous King, should now be inforced to spend their liues in the quarell

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of some such one as was but his Souldiour. Whiles they were in these imaginations, the night came on, and encreased their terrour. The men of warre watched in harneys, and the Babilonians looked ouer the walles, peeping out from the tops of their houses, to spy some certainty how the matter went. There was none that durst kindle any light: and because the vse of the eye did faile, they laid their eares to heare the rumours and wordes that were spoken: and many times they were afrayde, when no cause was: and when they met together in the narrow streetes or darke lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect eche other as enemies. The Persians after their accustomed manner, clipped their haire, and with their wiues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garments with vnfayned affection: not as a conqueror, and one that lately had beene their enemye. but as their right wise and naturall King. For they being accustomed to liue vnder a King, could thinke no man more worthy then he to rule ouer them. This sorrow was not conteyned within the walles of the citie, but straightwayes spred ouer all the countrey thereabouts. And the same of so great a mischiefe flying throughout Asia, brought soone tidings thereof vnto Darius mother. She at

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the first report tare a sunder the garment she ware, and put on mooꝛning apparell: shee pulled hir haire, and fell downe groueling vpon the earth. One of hir Neeces sat by hir mooꝛning the death of Ephestion whom she had maryed, and in an vniuersall heauinesse, bewayled the cause of hir priuate soꝛrowe. But Sysigambis alone susteyned all theyꝛ miseryes, and bewayled both hir owne case and hir neeces: hir fresh soꝛow causing hir to call to mynde things past. A man would haue iudged by hir behauiour that Darius had bin newly slaine, and that she had celebrated the funerals of both hir Sonnes together. She dyd not onely lament the dead, but soꝛrowed also foꝛ the liuing.

Who shall now (quod shee) take care of these young women? or who can be lyke vnto Alexander? now we be taken prisoners againe: now we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After Darius death we founde one to defende vs. But now since Alexander is gone, who will haue respect of vs?

Among these things, she called to mynde, how Occhus the cruell king had slaine hir father, and foure scoꝛe of hir bꝛethꝛen in one day, & that of vi. childꝛen boꝛne of her bodye, there was but one of them left aliue. She saw that foꝛtune had aduanced Darius, and caused him to floꝛish foꝛ a time, to the intent hee might

might end his life by greater crueltie. Finallye she was so ouercome with sorrowe, that she couered her head, turning her selfe from hir neece and nephew that sat at hir feet, and abstaining both from meate and from beholding of the light, ended hir lyfe the fifte day after shee was determined to dye. This hir death was a great argument of the clemency Alexander had shewed towards hir, and of the iustice towards all the captiues: seeing that after Darius death shee could abyde to liue, but after Alexanders departure, shee was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander righteously, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vices eyther to his youth, or to the greatnes of his Fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceeding sufferance of trauayle. He was endued with manhood: exceeding not onelye amongst kings, but also amongst such as had no other vertue nor qualitye. He was of such liberalitie, that oftentimes hee gaue greater things, then the receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdomes that he gaue in gift, and restored to such from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemencie towards them that he subdued. He shewed a perpetual cõtempt of death, ỹ feare

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whereof doth amaze other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory & worldly praise then reason would beare, so was it tollerable in so yong a man enterprising so great and notable actes. The reuerence and affection he bare towards his parents appeared in the purpose he had to consecrate his mother Olympias to immortalitie, and in that he so sore reuenged Philips death: howe gentle and familiar was he towards his frends; and how beneuolent toward his souldiers: he had a wisdome equall to the greatnes of his heart and such a policy & forecast, as so yong yeares were scarcely able to receiue. A measure he had in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desired, vsing no pleasure, but that was lawful: these were wonderful great giftes and vertues. But in that he compared himselfe to the goddes, coueting diuine honours, & beleeued the Oracles that perswaded such things: that hee was offended with them that would not worship him, and giuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient: that he altered his habite and apparell into the fashion of straungers, and counterfaited the custome of them he had subdued, & despised before his victory: these were vyces to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As the heate of youth stirred vnto anger, and to

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the desire of drinking: so age might haue mitigated again those faults. Notwithstanding it must needes be confessed, that though he preuayled much by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more vnto his fortune, which onelye of all mortall men hee had in his owne power. Howe often did shee delyuer hym from the pointe of death? Howe often did shee defende him with perpetuall felycitie, when hee had rashlye brought himselfe in perill? And when shee pointed an ende to his glorye, shee euen then was content to finishe his lyfe: staying his fatall destinie, till he had subdued the Orient, visited the Occean sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortalitye was able to performe. To this so great a king, and so noble a conquerour, a successour was looked for. But the matter was of ouer great importance for any one man to take vpon him: Alexanders name and renowne was so great amongst all nations: and they were counted most noble, that might be partakers (though it were neuer so little) of his prosperous fortune. But to returne againe to Babilon, from whence the digression hath beene made: They which had the guarde and custodye of Alexanders person, called into the Courte such as had beene his cheefe friends and Capitaines of the men of warre: after whome

there followed a great multitude of Souldiours, desiring to know who should be successour vnto Alexander. The throng of the Souldiours was such that many of the Captaines were excluded, and could not enter into the court. A proclamation therefore was made, whereby all men were forbidden to enter, except such as were called by name. But because their cõmandement seemed to want authority, it was little regarded: and the multitude at the first began to make a greeuous sorow & lamentatiõ. But imediatly the desire they had to vnderstande the successe of the matter, stopped their lamentation and made silence. Then Perdicas brought foorth in sight of all the people, the kings Chayre of estate, wherein Alexanders Diademe, his vesture regall, and his armour was layd: amongst the which ornaments, Perdicas also layde downe the kings signet, delyuered to him the day before, at the sight whereof they began to weepe, and to renue againe their sorowe. Then said Perdicas:

Lo heere is the Ring wherewith he was woonte to seale such things, as pertained to the gouernement of his Empire, which as he deliuered to me, I so restore it againe to you. And although no aduersitie can be deuised by the Goddes (were they neuer so much offended) comparable to this: yet considering the greatnesse of the actes which he hath

hath doone, wee muſt thinke that as the gods ſent ſuch a man ſo to raigne in the world (his time being expired that was appointed) they haue called him again to the place from whence he came. Forasmuch therefore as none other thing remaineth of him amongſt vs, but onely that which is alwaies woont to be remooued from immortality: let vs performe the due, pertaining bothe to his body, and to his name: remembring in what citye we be, amongſt what kinde of people, and what a king and gouernour we haue loſt. We muſt debate & deuiſe how to maintaine our conqueſt amongſt them of whom it is gotten: for the dooing wherof, it is needfull for vs to haue an head. But whether the ſame ſhall be one or many, it dooth conſiſt in you. You are not ignoraunt that a multitude of men of warre without an head, is a body without lyfe. Sixe moneths be now paſſed, ſince Roxane was conceyued with Chylde: wee deſire of God that ſhee may bring foorth a Sonne, which may enioye this kingdome, when he commeth to age. In the meane ſeaſon appoint you of whom ye will be gouerned.

**When Perdicas had ſpoken theſe wordes, Nearchus roſe vp and ſayde:**

There is no man can deny, but that it were meet for Alexanders ſucceſſion to continue in the blod royall: but to looke for a king that is not yet borne & to paſſe ouer one that is in his being already, is neither expedient for ſuch men as the Macedons be, nor yet dooth ſerue the neceſſitye of the time. There is a ſonne which Alexander begot by Barſines: what ſhould let, why the Diadem may not be ſet on his head?

**Nearchus tale was acceptable to no man.**

Therefore the Souldiers according to their custome clashed their speares against the targets, and continued making of a noise. And when he would not forsake his opinion but obstinately maintained the same, the matter had almost bread a sedition, which thing perceiued by Ptholemus, he spake after this manner.

Neyther the sonne of Roxane nor Barsines, is an issue meet to reigne ouer the Macedons: whose names we should bee ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers being captiues. Haue wee subdued the Persians to that end, to become subiect to such as be descended of them. That was the thing which Darius and Xerxes, being kings of Perse wrought for in vaine, with so many millions of men of warre, and with so many Nauyes. This therefore is mine opinion, that Alexanders Chayre of estate bee set in the myddest of his court, and that all such as were woont to bee of counsayle with him, shall assemble together, so often as any matter requireth to bee consulted vpon: And that the Capitaines and rulers of the armie shalbe obedient to that order, wheunto the greater number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptholomeus: but fewe with Perdicas. Then Aristonus spake in this wise.

When Alexander was demaunded to whom he would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthyest to bee chosen. Whome iudged hee worthyest but Perdicas, to whome hee delyuered his Ring. This was not done at such time as hee was alone: but when all his friends were present, he did cast his

his eyes amongst them, and at length chose out one, to whome hee deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kingdome bee committed vnto Perdicas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assemblye cryed to Perdicas, that hee should come foorth amongst them, and take vp the kings signet. But he stayed betweene ambition and shamefastnes, thinking the more modestie he vsed in getting the thing, which hee coueted, they would be so much the more earnest to proffer it him. When hee had stand a good while at a stay, doubting what to do, at length he drew back, and stood behynde them which sat next vnto him. When Meleager that was one of the Captaines saw the staye that Perdicas made, he tooke courage vppon his feebleneſſe and sayde;

Neyther the goddes will permyt, nor men wyll suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weyght of so great an Empire should rest vppon his shoulders: I wyll not rehearse howe there bee manye men more noble then hee is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may be suffred to be done. There is no difference whether yee make Perdicas king, or the sonne of Roxane, whensoeuer hee shall be borne. Seeing Perdicas goeth aboute to make hymselfe Kinge, vnder pretence to bee gouernour to the Infant: That is the cause whye no king can please him, but such as is not yet borne. And in such an haste

as all we make to haue a king (which haſt is both meete and neceſſary for the preſeruation of our eſtate.) Hee onely dooth wayte for the expyring of times and moneths: imagining that ſhe ſhould bring forth a man childe, which I thinke ye doubt not but he is readye to counterfet and exchange if need be. If it were ſo in very deed, that Alexander had appoynted him to bee our king: I am of oppinion that the ſame thing onelye (of all the things hee hath commaunded) ought not to bee performed and kept. Why doe not you run therefore to ſpoyle the treaſure, ſeeing that the people ought to inherit it?

When he had ſpoken thoſe woyds, he brake through the preaſe of armed me: & they which gaue him waye, followed him to the ſpoile, whereof he had made meution. The greedines of the treaſure cauſed a great band of armed men to flock about Meleager, & the aſſembly began to fall to diſcoyde and ſedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a meane ſoldioy (whom very few did know) had not ſtepped fooyth, & ſpoken to the multitude.

What need we (quod he) to fall to force or ciuill warre, ſeeing wee haue a king already, which you ſeeke to finde? The ſame is Arideus Philips ſon, brother to Alexãder that lately was our king borne and brought vp in the ſame religion & ceremonies that we do vſe: who being the only heir, I maruaile by what deſeruing of his hee is ouerſlipped, or what hee hath doone, why hee ſhould not enioye his right, deſcended vnto him by the vni-

vniuerſall lawe of the world? If you ſeeke one to be comparable to Alexander, you ſhall neuer find him. If you will haue ſuch one as ſhall approche nexte vnto him, this is onely he.

When theſe woꝛds were heaꝛd amongſt the multitude, they kept ſilence at the firſt, as if they had bin commaunded by authoꝛitie: but afterwaꝛds they cryed with one voyce, that Arideus ſhould be called, and that they were wooꝛthy death, which made anye aſſemblye without him. Then Python all beſprinkled with teares, began to ſpeake.

Nowe I perceyue (quod he) Alexanders caſe to bee moſt miſerable, ſeeing he is defrauded of the fruite, which ſuch as were his ſouldiours and ſubiects ſhould bring foꝛth at ſuch a time as this is. For you hauing reſpect onelye to the name and memorye of your king, be vtterly blynd in the reſt of things.

His woꝛdes tended directly to the repꝛoofe of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale pꝛocured moꝛe hatred to the ſpeaker, then contempt to him againſt whome they were ment. Foꝛ the compaſſion they had of Arideus, cauſed them the moꝛe to fauour his cauſe: and therefoꝛe declared by an obſtinate cry, that they wold not ſuffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onely which was boꝛne to that poſſibilitie: and ſtill called foꝛ Arideus to come foꝛth amongſt them. Wherupon Meleager

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(for the malyce and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas) tooke an occasion boldlye to bring him into the assemblye, whom the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. Thys was the voyce of the people: but the nobilitye was of another minde, of whome Pithon tooke vpon him to put Perdicas deuise in execution, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to be gouernours of the sonne which should be borne of Roxane: addyng moreouer, that Craterus & Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: and vppon this they sware the soldiers to bee obedyent to Alexanders issue. Meleager then douting (not without cause) that some euyll might come to him, departed with such as were of his faction: but he returned immediatly againe, bringing Philip with him into the court, & cried out to ỹ multitude for the assisting of the commonwealth, in aiding of the new king, whom a little before they had elected: & willed them to make an experient of his actiuitie, perswading that he was the meetest to rule ouer them being the issue of Phillip, that had both a king to his father, & a king to his brother. There is no profound sea so stormy nor tempestuous, ỹ raiseth vp so many surges and waues, as a multitude doth motiõs & alteratiõs, whẽ they haue got

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the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue. There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas: but more agreede to make Philip king. They could not neyther agree nor disagree to any thing long time together: one while repenting them of that they had determined, and straightways forthought them of that repentance. Yet finally, they wer inclined to prefer the kings bloud. Arideus was put in such fear with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiors was rather silent, than decayed toward him: So that at length he was called again, and his brothers vesture regall, which lay in the chaire, put vppon him. And Melager put on his armour, following as a defence to the person of the new king. The souldiors of the foot-band clashed their speares to their targets, threatening to shedde theyr bloud, which would couet the kingdome that pertayned not to them. They reioiced that the force of the empire should not be disperckled, but still concontinue in ꝑ same family: the right of whose inheritance comming of the bloud royal, they shewed themselues ready to defend. For by reason they wer accustomed to haue the name of theyr king in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy for it, but such a

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one as came thereto by diſcent of blood. Perdicas therefore was afraid, and with ſix hundred men that were of an approued manhood, tooke vpon him to defend the place whereas the body of Alexander lay. Ptholomeus ioined himſelfe vnto him alſo, and the band of the ponge gentlemenne that were aboute the kings perſon. But ſo many thouſands of armed men as were vpon the other ſide did eaſily breake in vpon them: Among whome the kinge was preſent with a greate band for the guard about his perſon: wherof Meleager was chiefe. Perdicas therefore in a great furie, called ſuch to his garte as would defend Alexanders body: but manye of them were ſore hurte with dartes that were throwen frō the contrary ſide. At the laſt the anncient men plucked of their head peeces (the better to be knowen) and deſired them which were with Perdicas to abſtaine from ciuill warre, and geue place to the king, & to the greater part. Wherupon Pardicas was nhe firſt that laied downe his weapon, and the reſt did in like maner. Meleager then perſwaded them that they ſhould not depart, but remaine ſtil about the dead corps: but he iudging that to be a deceite, and a meane to entrappe hym, flede to a to a place on the further ſide of *Euphrates*, lying ouer agamſte the coure. Then the horſe

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men, which consisted chiefly of the nobilitye, flocked about Perdicas, & Leonatus, whose oppinione was to depart out of the citie, and take the fildes: But because Perdicas was not with out hoape, that the footemen would haue taken his parte, he remained still within the citie, leste he might seme to bee the cause that the horsemen shoulde deuide them selues from the reste of the army. Meleager ceassede not to beate in the kings head, that he coulde not establishe him selfe surely in his estate, other wise then by the death of Perdicas, whose ambitious mind, desirous of innouation, was (he said) to be preuented in time. He willed the kynge to remember what Perdicas had deserued at his hands, and that no man could be faithfull to him, whome he fearede. The kinge sufferinge the thinge, rather then geuinge his consent to the matter, Meleager took his silence for a commaundement, and sent for Perdicas in the kings name: and they which were sent, hade commition to kill him, if he made anye stickinge to come with them. Perdicas hearing of their comming, accompanyed onlye with xvi. younge gentlemenne (accustomed to attend vpon Aleanders persone) mett them as they would haue entred in to his lodginge, and callinge them Meleagres slaues, rebuked thē with such a cōstancy,

both of minde and countenance, that they returned backe againe as men amazed. Perdicas willed such as were in his company to leape on horsebacke: and with a fewe of his friends repayred vnto Leonatus, minding if any violence were mooued against him to repulse it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grudged, and thought it a matter vnfitting, that Perdicas should be brought in danger of death after such a sort: & therefore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes of Meleagers doings. But he vnderstanding of the mutinie that was amongst the souldiours, gaue place: and they repaired to the king, demanding of him if he had commanded Perdicas to be taken. He confessed the thing: but it was done (he sayd) by Meleagers motion, which he declared to be no cause for them to make any stur, seeing that Perdicas was aliue. The assembly hereupon brake vp, and Meleager became greatly afraid, specially so astonied by the parting of the horsmen, that he wist not what to do: for he saw the mischiefe (which he a little before had wrought against his enemy) like to light vpon himselfe. And whiles he deuised this & that, three daies were consumed & spent. The wonted forme and fashion of the court did remaine in the meane season. For the embassadors of diuers nations

made

made repaire vnto the king: the captaines of the army did assemble about him, & the guard waited in armour as they were accustomed. But the great sadnes that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreame dispaire. There was such a suspition amõgst themselues, that men durst not company together, nor speake one to another, but stood ymmagining secretly with themselues: & by comparing the time present with the time past, and the new king with the old, they begã to desire him that was gone. The one enquired of another, where he was become, whose fortune and authoritie they had followed: Then they founde themselues abandoned amongst so many wild nations, which were desirous vpon any occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whiles they were troubled in these imaginations, worde was brought that the horsemen (which were vnder Perdicas) kept the fields about Babilon, and stayed all victuals, comming to the Cittie. Wherevpon first began a scarsitye, and afterwards a fampne. Therefore such as were within the Cittye, thought good, eyther to make a reconciliation with Perdicas, or els to fight out the matter: It chaunced that such as dwelled abroade in the countrey, fearing the spoyle of the Villages, repai-

repayred into the cittie. And they within the cittie for lacke of victuals departed into the countrey: so that euery one thought themselues surer any where, then in their owne habitations. Then the Macedons douting some great inconuenience that might come of this feare, assembled together in the court, and shewed forth their opinions. It was agreed amongst them that embassadours should be sent to the horsmen for the successing of all strife and diuision, Pasas a Thessalian, Amissas a Megapolitan, and Perelaus were sent from the king: who declaring their commission, receiued aunswer, that the horsemen would not seuer their power, till the authors of the sedition were delyuered into their hands. When they were returned, & their answer knowne, the souldiers without any appointment, put on their armor, and made such a tumult, that the King was enforced to come forth of the court, and sayd vnto them:

If wee shalbe at strife amongst our selues, our enemies that be quiet, shall enioy the fruite of our contention. Remember that the quarrell is with your owne countreymen, with whom if ye rashlye breake the hope of reconcilement, ye shall be the beginners of a ciuill warre: Let vs prooue if the matter may be mitigated by an other Embassate. I am of oppinion, that forasmuch as Alexanders bodye remaineth yet vnburyed, they will gladlye

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come together, to perform the due vnto the dead. And for my parte, I had rather surrender vppe againe this dignity, then any bloud should be shed amongst my countreymen. For if no other hope of concorde doe remaine, I desire and praye you to make a better choyse.

And with that worde hee wept, and pullyng the Diadem frō his head, & holding the same foorth with his hand, ready to haue delyuered it to any man that would haue claymed to be more worthy then he. The moderation that he vsed both in his words, and his behauiour, caused them al to conceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, which (till that time) was obscured with his brothers fame. They therfore required and encouraged him to go forwards in the matter, as he had deuised: wherupon he sent againe for embassadors the same men that went before: which had commission to require that Meleager might be the third ruler of the men of warre. That matter was not much sticked at: for Perdicas was desirous to remooue Meleager from the king, & thought that hee alone should not bee able to matche with Leonatus and him. Vppon this Meleager marched out of the cittie with the footmen: and Perdicas met him in the fields, riding before the bandes of the Horsemen. There both battailes saluting one another, concorde, peace, and amitie, was confyrmed betwixt

betwext them for euer (as it was thought) But it was decreed by destiny that ciuil wars should rise amongst the Macedõs for gouerment is vnpacient of partners: and the kingdome was coueted by many. Which as it first grewe in force, so afterwards it was dispersed againe. For when the body was burdned with mo heads then it could beare, the other members begane to fail. So the empire of the Macedons, which vnder one head might wel haue stood, when it was deuided in partes, fell to ruine. For that cause the people of Rome iustly must confesse them selues bounde vnto thir prince, for the felicity they haue found: Which as a starre in the night appeared vnt o them, were nere lost: And as the sunne gaue light to the worlde beinge in darknes, when without such a hed the members that were at variance must needs haue quailed: Howe many firebrands did he quenche? How many swordes ready drawen did he put vp againe? how great a tempest did he pacifie with the sodain calme of his presence? The empire now dooth ware greene and florishing: Let me desire without enuy, that his house may continue many ages and his posteritie remaine for euermore: but to returne againe to the order of the history, from whence I was brought thorough the contemplation of our vniuersall felicie: Per-

dicas

dicas iudged the only hope of his owne safe-guarde, to consist in the death of Meleager: thinking it necessary to prevent him being a man bothe variable, vnfaithfull, geuen to innouation, and besides his mortal enimie. But with deepe dissimulation he kept his purpose secret, to thintent that with lesse difficultie, he might oppresse him vnbewars. He did suborne therfore priuely certaine of the bands vnder his rule, to complain openly (as though it were without his knowledge) that Meleager should be made equall with him in authoritie: which woordes of the souldyours, when they were reported vnto Meleager, became in a great rage, & declared their sayings to Perdicas. He seemed to wonder at the matter, blaming theire doing, as though he had beene sorye for the thinge: and finallye they agreede that the authors of suche seditious woordes should be taken. When Meleager perceiued Perdicas so conformable, hee embraced him, and gaue him thanks for his fidelitye and beneuolence. There by a consultation had betwixt them both, they deuised how to destroy such as wrought this deuision betwixt them. For ỹ bringing of ỹ to passe they agred, the army shold be purged accoding to their cõtry custom. To the doing wherof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasion, by reasõ of the late

discorde amongst them. The kings of Macedon in purifying of their soldiors, were wont to vse a kinde of ceremony, diuiding the bowels of a dog in two parts, and to cast the same in the vttermost bounds of the field, whereon they purposed to muster the armie. There the men of warre accustome to stand armed: both the horsemen, the mercinarie souldiers, and the phalanx, euery one a part. The same day that this ceremonie was put in execution, the king stood in order of battaile with the horsemen and the Elephants against the footmen, of whom Meleager had the rule. When the troupes of horsmen began to moue, the footmen were striken sodeinly with feare: and by reason of the late discorde, conceyued a suspion that the horssemen ment them no good. Wherfore they stood a while in a doubt, whether they should retire into the cittie or no, by reason that the fields serued best for the horsmen. But least without cause they might condemne the fidelitie of theyr companions, stood still with a determinate minde to fight if any proffered them violence. When the battailes were almost met together, onely a small distance left betwixt them, (whereby the one part was deuided from the other) the king by the prouocation of Perdicas, with a bande of horsemen did ride along the footemen, requiring

ring the deliuerye of such to bee executed, as were the authors of the discorde: whome in very deed, though he ought to haue defended: yet if they refused their deliuery, he threatned to bring against them, both the horsmen & the Elephants. The footmen were amased with the suddennes of the mischiefe, which they loked not for: and there was no more counsell nor courage in Meleager, then in the rest: but they all iudged it most expedient for them, rather to abide the aduentnre of that requeſt, then further to hasard fortune. When Perdicas saw them astonied and in feare, he seuered out ts the number of three hundred of such as folowed Meleager, when he brake out of the assemblie, that was first made after Alexanders death: which in the sight of all the armie were cast to the Elephants, and there trampled to death with theyr feet, of which matter Phillip was neither the author, nor the forbidder: but thought to claime that for his owne doing, which should appeare best in the end. This was a signification and a beginning vnto the Macedons of ciuil wars that ensued. Meleager vnderstanding ouer late the slight of that deuice, because there was no violence offred vnto his person, stood at the first quietly within the square: but shortly after, when he saw his enemies abusing to his destruct ō

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the name of him whom he had made king, he dispaired of his owne sauegarde, & fled into a temple. But the religion of the place could not so defend him, but that he was there slain. Perdicas hereupon brought againe the army into the citie: and calling a counsaile of all the principall personages, it was agreed so to deuide the Empire, that the King should remaine as chiefe of the whole: Ptholomeus to be lieutenant in Egypt and Aphricke, and to haue the rule of the natiõs there, that were vnder the Macedons dominion. Siria and Phenices were appointed to Laomedon, Cilicia to Philotas, Licia with Pamphilia, and the greater Phrigia, were assigned to Antigonus. Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander into Cidia. The lesser Phrigia that ioyned vnto Hellespont, was Leonatus prouince. Eumenes had Cappadocia & Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to defend that countrey so far as Trapezunt, and make warre to Ariarches, whith onely remained enemy to the Empire. Media was appoynted to Python, & Thrase to Lysimachus with other nations thereabout bordering vpon the sea of Ponte. It was ordeyned also that such as should be presidents amongst the Indiãs, Bactrians, Sogdians, and other nations lying vpon the Occean and red seas, should in

matter

matter of iustice vse regall iurisdictiō. It was decreed that Perdicas should remaine with the king, & haue the gouernance of the men of warre that folowed him. Some beleeue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexanders testament: but we haue found the same to be false, though some author do witnesse the same. The empire being deuided into partes, euery one might well haue defended his portion, if any bounds could conteine mens immoderate desires: or if they being but ministers vnto a king, when vnder the colour of the administration of an others dominion they had encroched into so great kingdomes, could haue auoided the occasiōs of war, seeing they were all of one nation, and had their countreys appointed out by limits. But it is hard for mē to be contented with that they haue in possession, when occasiō is proferred them of more. For the first thinges alwayes appeare of no valure, when men be in hope of greter things to come: so that euery one of them thought it an easier matter to encrease his kingdom, thē it was to get it at the first. Alexanders body in the meane season lay seauen dayes vnburied; for whiles euery man had care vpon the establishing of the state, theyr mindes were drawne from the dooing of that solemne office. There is no countrey more feruent of

heate,

heate then Mesopotamia, for the sun there burneth so hoate, that it killeth the beasts that be without couert, and burneth vp all things as were with fire. And to the encrease thereof, there be few springs of water, and the inhabiters vse such pollicie in hyding of those they haue, that strangers can haue no vse of them. This notwithstanding, when Alexanders frends had gotten leisure to take care of the dead corps, & came to visit the same, they found it without infection, corruption, or change of colour: the same cheerfulnes which consisteth of the spirit, not being yet departed out of his countenance. Then the Egiptians & the Caldeis were cõmanded to dresse his body after their maner: who at the first (as though he had beene aliue) had a feare to put their hands to him. But afterwards making their praiers þ it might be lawfull for mortall men to touche him, they purged his bodye, and filled it with sweet odours: and afterwards layd him vpon a hearse of gold, and set a Diadem vpon his head. Many thought that he dyed of poyson, & that Iolla Antipaters sonne being one of his ministers, had giuen him the same. Alexander oftentimes would saye, that Antipater coueted the estate of a king, affecting more greatnes then pertained to a lieutenant, and that through glorye of the victory he had got-

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ten of the Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claymed all things committed vnto him as his owne. It is thought also that that Craterus was sent to kil him, with those old souldiers that were dimissed. It is certain that there is a poison in Macedon founde in a water called Sukstiges, of such force, that it consumeth Iron, and will not be conteyned in any thing sauing in the hoose of an horse or mule: which poyson was brought by Cassander, and deliuered to his brother Iolla, which presented it in the drinke ỳ the king last drank. howsoeuer these things be reported, the power of them of whom the rumour went, shortly after oppressed the infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & of Greece, and his children after him: which put to death all such as were any thing neere of kin vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egypt) conueyed Alexanders body to Memphis, which within few yeares after was remooued to Alexandria, whereas all honour is giuen to the memory of him, and to his name.

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FINIS.